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INSIDE TODAY

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**VENTILATION MEANS...
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Wounded UN soldier shot dead by SLA

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ROSH HANUKKA. — A wounded Nepalese Unifil soldier being transported to hospital in an ambulance was killed yesterday afternoon, reportedly by fire from a South Lebanese Army stronghold in South Lebanon.

Unifil has lodged a strong protest through the IDF's Lebanese liaison unit, although the IDF was not involved in the incident. OC Northern Command Aluf Yossi Peled promised Unifil commander Maj. Gen. Gustav Haggund that the liaison unit would thoroughly investigate the matter and report back as soon as possible.

Unifil spokesman Timor Goksel said the ambulance was clearly marked with the UN and Red Cross insignia. He said the soldier was wounded in an earlier shooting incident which also involved SLA soldiers. This occurred just before noon at a road junction between the villages of Srobbine and Harris, north of the perimeter of the security zone in South Lebanon.

An SLA tank and half track reportedly tried to pass through a Unifil checkpoint, manned by Nepalese troops Goksel said. The Nepalese soldiers blocked the passage and, after an argument, the SLA vehicles, which had come from a nearby stronghold on the border of the security zone, turned around. They had pulled back 200 metres from the checkpoint when troops on the half track opened heavy machine gun fire towards the nearby Nepalese company headquarters, said Goksel. A Nepalese soldier inside the white-painted building with UN emblems on the side was hit in the leg.

Goksel maintained that there had been no unusual activity in the region at the time, and certainly nothing to account for the firing at the UN building.

A Unifil ambulance was called to the scene and the wounded soldier, already strapped to a stretcher, was placed aboard. At that stage, the soldier was apparently not seriously hurt. Forty five minutes later, said Goksel, as the ambulance was travelling to Yatar road, a number of shots from a heavy machine gun were fired from the overlooking SLA hilltop stronghold.

One bullet smashed through the side window of the ambulance, and hit the wounded soldier in the neck. He died before reaching hospital.

He was the eighth Nepalese soldier killed while serving with Unifil. His death brings to 150 the number

(Continued on Page 7)

Teenagers missing in Dead Sea mishap

A search by IDF helicopters and naval craft was under way late last night for two teenagers from Kibbutz Ein Gedi who were missing after their small boat overturned in the Dead Sea.

Eight youngsters managed to swim back to shore after the boat capsized shortly after 9 p.m. The alarm was raised with two others, aged 15 and 16, could not be located. Helicopters with powerful searchlights were scouring the area.

LA still shaking

LOS ANGELES (AP). — Another strong earthquake shook buildings and knocked out power here yesterday morning, jolting residents awake and causing one death and several dozen minor injuries. It was the strongest aftershock registered after last week's powerful quake, which caused up to \$75 million in damage.

The quake, felt as far south as San Diego, measured 5.3 on the Richter Scale and occurred at 4 a.m., said a U.S. Geological Survey official. It was in the same area as Thursday's quake, 19 km south of Pasadena, he said.

"It's probably on the same fault break and a little bit to the northwest of Thursday's quake," said seismologist Kate Hutton.

Hutton said this wasn't the much-feared great quake expected to shake Southern California.

"It could come in five minutes. Or 40 years," she said.



A Jerusalem resident gets ready for the week-long Succot holiday, beginning Wednesday night, by collecting boards to build a succa. (Feinblatt/Media)

Shamir tells pro-Jordanians: 'Only direct talks' with Arabs

By JOEL GREENBERG
Prime Minister Shamir told a group of pro-Jordanian Palestinians yesterday that he was ready for peace talks with King Hussein at any time, but that he seeks direct talks with the Arabs, not an international conference.

Shamir met in his office with seven leading members of the pro-Jordanian establishment in the West Bank: Jordanian MP Talsin Faris of Nablus, who heads the Association of West Bank Agricultural Cooperatives; the publisher of the East Jerusalem *An-Nahar* newspaper, Oth-

man Haliaq, and the paper's editor, Issam Anani; Beit Jallah mayor Farah al-A'raj, Deir Dibwan mayor Yusuf Ghannam, Jordanian MP Nicola Aql of Ramallah, and Muhammad Zuhdi Ghazaleh of Tulkarm, who heads Jordan's matriculation examinations committee, and is principal of the Khadduri agricultural college in Tulkarm.

The hour-long discussion was described by Shamir's spokesman, Avi Pazner, as "an informal meeting with Palestinian moderates, in order to exchange views." He said it was

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

Peres sends sharp letter to premier

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, condemning the hostile reaction to his remarks to the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in New York last week, last night reasserted in a strongly worded letter to Prime Minister Shamir that he had been attacked "for things that were never said."

"There was and there is no intention to invite the conference to

Cabinet row Page 2

reach a decision" in Israel's stead, Peres wrote. "But," he added, "I had no intention then and I have none now either of muzzling them or of allowing the continuation of the unbridled defamation campaign which distorts the peace plan by ascribing to it intentions to withdraw to the 1967 borders, PLO participation and even the division of Jerusalem."

Peres wrote that he intends to send a copy of the letter to conference chairman Morris Abram and to

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Hand re-sewn after woman cuts it off

By JUDY SIEGEL
In an 11-hour operation last Thursday doctors at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem reconnected the hand of a woman — newly arrived from Hungary — who severed it with a knife in a suicide bid.

The microsurgery, which connected the bone, two arteries and four veins in her left wrist, will soon be followed by more operations to fully connect the tissues.

The woman, about 40 and the mother of two, told her doctors that

she had severed her hand in a suicide attempt. She left the hand in her apartment and was seen wandering around by staff and residents of a Jerusalem-area absorption centre. They called an ambulance and sent the severed hand along with her to Hadassah.

Dr. Uri Zager of the plastic surgery department, who performed the operation with another doctor, said the woman had lost a great deal of blood and needed a transfusion of seven pints.

"I have seen only three or four

such cases in Jerusalem in the last decade," he said. "It's quite a rare operation. Most such cases involve just fingers accidentally severed."

He is sure that the hand will be able to function normally. "It already looks the normal colour," he said.

The surgeons used a foot-controlled microscope that zoomed in and out as they performed the surgery and reconnected the tissue. The 42-year-old surgeon said the woman spoke quite calmly after the operation about what she had done.

11 held after Arab-Jewish fracas

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Police here yesterday arrested nine Arab teenagers and two soldiers after investigating a Yom Kippur-eve fracas.

There are a number of versions about the precise unfolding of events. The police version was totally different from earlier reports. These said that a mob of 50 youngsters from the southern Tirat Carmel suburb had on Friday night marched towards Haifa, smashing illuminated road signs and beating up the Arabs, badly hurting one of them at the Carmel Youth Hostel.

In effect accusing the accusers, the police spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post* that their investigation indicated that the Arabs had run riot after getting drunk. They accosted some young Tirat Carmel girls, who were with a group of youngsters near the Paz filling station. It was the Arabs who smashed the road signs, the police say.

The Arabs later called the police and said that they had been set upon by the Jews who outnumbered them. The confrontation was first reported as an attack by Jewish rowdies on Arabs.

According to the police a group of Tirat youngsters, including two girls, had been walking near the Paz station at the junction of Rehov Freud leading to Mt. Carmel, when a dozen or so Arab youngsters at the station had impounded the girls.

The Jews went back to Tirat, where they met a group of teenagers, including two soldiers.

On hearing the story the enlarged group marched back to the station, "to retaliate." But they found none at the petrol station and went on to the nearby Carmel Youth Hostel, where the Arab youngsters stay, and attacked them.

Before the revised version was reported by the police last night, the oldest of the Arabs, Khalil Gansim, 26, of Sakhnin village, told *The Post* that he did not think there had been

any racial motives in the incident.

His version was that the eight, 15- and 16-year-old Sakhnin youngsters who work with him at the Fizzzeria in the petrol station, had remained in Haifa to be ready to reopen the restaurant immediately after Yom Kippur. Together with four other Sakhnin youngsters employed at the hostel, they had sat talking in the station. At about 10 p.m. they heard a row on the Tirat-Haifa highway, a few yards away. Curious, they went to see and found "about 30 youngsters, including two armed soldiers, brandishing sticks and smashing road signs and traffic lights."

"We talked excitedly in Arabic about the vandalism, and then the mob turned on us, cursing and hitting. We ran away to the hostel, about 2 km away and hid as best we could."

An Arab worker, 25-year-old Beduin Hussein Saker, who lives with his family in a dilapidated house further up the mountain and works

(Continued on Page 7)

Nudel release seen linked to chemical weapons policy

Shamir, Peres differ on Soviet intentions

By MENACHEM SHALEV
and ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres differed sharply at yesterday's cabinet meeting over the significance of the latest Soviet moves, including relations with Israel, Ida Nudel's release and the prospects for large-scale Soviet-Jewish emigration.

Peres said he believed that even if all the obstacles to aliya were swept away, "no more than a few tens of thousands would come here from the Soviet Union." Shamir, on the other hand, said that "the aliya movement would snowball once the gates open, because many thousands more who had been reluctant to apply in the past for fear of being penalized and labelled refuseniks would feel free to join the flow to Israel."

Peres said that in his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, he had encountered new Soviet positions on all three issues pertaining to Israel: Soviet Jewry, bilateral relations and the peace process.

Shamir said Peres should have taken his Soviet counterpart more to task for his government's refusal to

contemplate full diplomatic ties with Israel. He responded to Peres's assertion that an Israeli presence was needed in Moscow to stimulate aliya by saying that the period of mass aliya occurred when there was no Soviet Embassy in Tel Aviv.

Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman quipped that it might be worthwhile for Israel to break off relations with the U.S. in order to stimulate aliya from that country.

Peres and Shamir differed just as sharply about the reasons for the freeing of Nudel. Peres credited improved Israeli-Soviet ties and the Soviet rapprochement with the West, while Shamir attributed it to pressure placed on Soviet authorities.

Peres: "Soviet Jewry is not a party matter, but is at the very heart of us all. I do not accept, Mr. Prime Minister, that there is no room to express our appreciation for the release of Ida Nudel. Along with the gratitude we can demand more. Things which haven't happened for 16 years are happening now, and the trend should be encouraged."

Shamir: "Nudel should never have been imprisoned and prevented from leaving the Soviet Union in the first place."

Shamir read out a statement expressing the government's confi-

dence that "Ida Nudel's victory would impart renewed strength to the Jewish masses in the Soviet Union, so that they too would overcome the obstacles in their path, and return to Zion in joy."

Shamir said the government sent its thanks and felicitations to Israel's many friends around the world, especially in the U.S., who had done so much to secure the liberation of Nudel.

Well-placed sources offered an altogether different and intriguing theory on Nudel's release yesterday, connecting it with Soviet overtures to the West on the elimination of chemical and biological weapons.

The sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that Nudel had originally been denied permission to leave the Soviet Union because she allegedly knew state secrets concerning chemical and bacteriological weapons. Her release, therefore, "more than coincided" with the unprecedented visit this weekend of foreign diplomats, military experts and journalists to a top-secret chemical warfare centre at Shikhan, on the banks of the Volga, some 900 km. south-east of Moscow.

The sources noted that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had announced in April that the Soviet

(Continued on Page 7)

Nissim says 'no' to Arbeli's plea for public health cash

By JUDY SIEGEL
and ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino, her back to the wall over demands for more money from public health workers, got little encouragement at yesterday's cabinet meeting from Finance Minister Moshe Nissim, who ruled out pay hikes on the grounds that they would lead to large-scale inflation.

Nissim was responding to the question of more public health funding, raised by Arbeli-Almosino. The issue as such did not appear on the cabinet's agenda.

Nissim noted that negotiations with pharmacists, biochemists and

microbiologists were still under way. But in any event, he warned, he would not countenance any wage demands which transcended the across-the-board pay increment of NIS 75 gross granted all public employees.

"The moment the dike is breached, the flood will pour through, and then large-scale inflation will be back with us," he warned.

Arbeli-Almosino rejected his argument. "Do you want the public health system to collapse altogether?" she asked bitterly.

According to sources close to the health minister, she was "deeply disappointed" by Nissim's remarks, in-

cluding his call for her to "stop her automatic support" of all the health workers who demand wage rises.

Nissim also declared that there would be no wage hikes in the public health system in the near future.

The only hopeful part of Nissim's statement was that he would open negotiations with medical professionals, and that the microbiologists and biochemists could also take part if they chose to be represented by the Histadrut.

The health minister, in the 25-minute discussion that followed her question, said forcefully that the hospitals had "suffered enough" during the past two years of strikes.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

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Rainy weather should clear by Succot

By DAVID BAKER

Israelis planning to sleep in their succot can look forward to tolerable weather, at least through the weekend. According to Bob Olinsky of the Meteorological Service in Beit Dagan, the rain predicted for today and tomorrow in the north and centre of the country will taper off by Wednesday evening.

"There should be no problem as far as rain is concerned for Erev

Succot, but it will be chilly for this time of year," Olinsky said.

Those planning to sleep outdoors on Wednesday should bundle up: cold air from Greece and Turkey is expected to cause temperatures in the hilly regions to drop to 12 degrees overnight.

Temperatures are to rise slightly on Thursday, and the warmer weather is expected to hold through Friday and Saturday.

The weather at major Swissair destinations

	4.19.87	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	9	13	16	Clear
BRUSSELS	9	13	16	Clear
BUDAPEST	11	15	17	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	9	13	16	Clear
FRANKFURT	9	13	16	Clear
GENEVA	8	12	15	Clear
HAMBURG	9	13	16	Clear
HONGKONG	24	25	27	Clear
JERUSALEM	12	17	21	Clear
LONDON	10	14	18	Clear
MADRID	12	16	20	Clear
MONTREAL	7	11	15	Cloudy
NEW YORK	9	13	16	Clear
OSLO	9	13	16	Clear
PARIS	10	14	18	Clear
RIO DE JANEIRO	14	17	20	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	11	15	18	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	9	13	16	Clear
TOKYO	18	21	24	Clear
TORONTO	9	13	16	Clear
VIENNA	9	13	16	Clear
ZURICH	9	13	16	Clear

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cold weather coming. Cloudy and raining in North and Centre.

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	68	21-22	21
Golan	58	18-24	22
Nabatieh	57	18-24	26
Safad	64	16-24	22
Haifa Port	46	24-28	26
Tiberias	54	22-32	29
Nazareth	53	20-26	24
Afula	65	21-29	27
Shomron	65	19-25	23
Tel Aviv	52	23-28	26
B-G Airport	62	21-27	26
Jericho	61	21-27	30
Gaza	63	23-27	28
Beersheba	56	20-27	32
Eilat	33	23-39	37

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Prof. Dr. Bruno Heck, chairman of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of West Germany, visited the Hebrew University of Jerusalem yesterday, where he met with senior administrative and faculty figures and learned of the foundation-sponsored programme at the university for the development of democratic values and leadership. He was guest of honour at a luncheon hosted by Vice-Rector Prof. Yoram Ben-Porath.

No violation by soldiers in deaths of 3 Palestinians

By JOEL GREENBERG and Itim

A Military Police investigation into the fatal shooting last week of three Palestinians who ran an IDF roadblock in the Gaza Strip has found that soldiers at the scene acted in accordance with military orders regarding firing at fleeing suspects.

The incident occurred last Thursday when a car carrying the three men burst through an IDF roadblock at the Bureij refugee camp. When the troops fired in the air, the three men left the car and began running. They were killed when the soldiers opened fire at them.

Two of the men, Mohammed Abu Obeid, 33, of Gaza, and Mohammed Alayan Muqadmeh, 40, from the Shati refugee camp, are to be buried today. The identity of the third man, who carried no documents, is still unknown. Security sources are investigating why the car burst through the roadblock, and whether its occupants were involved in terrorist activity.

The youth section of the Mapam Party yesterday issued a statement calling on Prime Minister Shamir and Defence Minister Rabin to establish a public commission of inquiry into the killings. Though a preliminary investigation found that soldiers followed standard procedure, they may have used excessive force, the group said. This possibility is strengthened by the identity of two of the men killed, who were not known to be involved in terrorism, the group said.

PERES LETTER

(Continued from Page One)

ask him to distribute it "to the same addresses which you asked that your letter be sent."

Sources close to Shamir last night rejected Peres' claim that he had been misquoted.

Sources close to Peres said last night that the letter had been sent after he had failed in his efforts to "get the load off his chest" at yesterday's cabinet meeting.

"By the way," Peres continued, "is the existence of a Herut branch in the U.S. not a tool for dragging American Jews into political, and even personal, disputes in Israel? Would you be willing to close down the branch for the sake of unity? If you will do so, I would be glad to act to stop other political activity with U.S. Jewry."

Mark Friedman

Call Safad

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Peres chides Likud ministers:

'I'm criticized for things I never said'

By ASHER WALLFISH and MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporters

More in sorrow than in anger, Foreign Minister Peres yesterday chided Likud ministers who criticized him for purportedly asking the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations last week in the U.S. to support his call for an international conference on the Middle East.

At the weekly cabinet session, Peres made no mention of his address to the presidents' conference and limited his report to the talks he held with the foreign ministers of 17 countries and with U.S. administration leaders.

Following Peres' presentation, Housing Minister David Levy and Minister-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i accused Peres of breaking a long-standing national consensus by asking Diaspora Jewry to take a stand on an issue over which political opinions in Israel were divided.

Replying to these and other comments, Peres said testily that his critics had blamed him, last week as well as yesterday, without checking what he had actually said in his address. His critics last week violated the convention requiring politicians to refrain from attacking a cabinet minister while he is abroad.

Peres said that apparently the only Israeli newspaper that reported his speech correctly was *The Jerusalem Post*.

"The norms here are getting more and more sophisticated," Peres said sarcastically. "Not only am I subjected to criticism while I am away, but I am being criticized for things I never said."

As to party politics among Diaspora Jewry, he said, it was well known that the Herut party branch in the U.S. was actively engaged in drumming up opposition among American Jews — and non-Jewish politicians — to the international conference proposal.

Shamir poured cold water on min-

discussion of the international conference proposal.

Referring to his meeting with the Chinese foreign minister, Peres said China is presenting a double position on the Middle East. The first, which Peres termed "tough," is its position in principle, whereby it sticks to its oft-stated demand that Israel relinquish the territories and agree to negotiate with the PLO on the establishment of a Palestinian state as a condition for diplomatic relations between Israel and China.

But, Peres said, China also has an "operative" attitude which is far more pragmatic and flexible. Foreign Minister Wu Xuejian told Peres that "China is too far away to be completely up to date" on events in the area, and that is one of the reasons for its agreement to establish regular contacts between the countries' ambassadors at the UN. Peres also recounted in this context Wu's assertion that China would agree to any formula for an international conference worked out between "Israel, the Arabs and the UN secretary-general."

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismat Abdel Meguid told Peres that Egypt was satisfied with the Soviet Union's acceptance of its proposal that the Palestinians be represented within the framework of a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation without the PLO at an international conference.

Because Peres' survey of his meetings with foreign ministers included unpublished information about contacts with certain countries, Shamir declared that entire part of the agenda classified as a session of "the committee of security ministers."

Rabin lets Sharon have it

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Defence Minister Rabin's patience with Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon is wearing increasingly thin.

After Foreign Minister Peres reported at yesterday's cabinet session on a long series of topics which he aired with administration officials in Washington last week, Sharon asked sarcastically: "And what did you discuss there about American aid for new weapons development projects following the scrapping of the Lavi warplane?"

Rabin, without waiting for Peres to reply, interrupted: "He took up all the issues which I asked him to handle."

Then, switching from Hebrew to English, Rabin glared at Sharon and said: "Mind your own business!"

Until recently, Sharon's barbs against the Alignment leadership were aimed at Peres, and he granted Rabin immunity out of professional respect for a fellow IDF veteran. Sharon also created the impression that he regarded Rabin as a more difficult target.

But since the row in the cabinet over the scrapping of the Lavi, Sharon directed many barbs at Rabin, which appear to have pierced even the defence minister's hide.

Peres said that he had not asked American Jews to take a decision in favour of the international conference, only to participate and to take a stand on matters of peace.

Peres said to Prime Minister Shamir: "We agreed between us that in my address to the UN General Assembly I would present the views of the Likud and the Alignment with respect to peace negotiations. I very

much hope that the Likud spokesmen touring the U.S. will be as careful as I was to give both sides." (He was apparently referring to, among others, former minister-without-portfolio Moshe Arens, who is now in Washington.)

Shamir's hopes of whipping up a lively debate in the wake of Peres' counter-attack on his critics, saying that "the international conference proposal is not on today's agenda."

Taking up one of the points in Peres' survey, however, Shamir permitted himself the comment that Secretary of State George Shultz would be coming to Jerusalem for "an exchange of views and not for a debate in the wake of Peres' counter-attack on his critics, saying that "the international conference proposal is not on today's agenda."

Levin said that so far the average death toll on the roads stands at 15 people killed every week, 15 per cent up on last year. More than 3,000 pedestrians had been injured in the past eight months, a rise of 44 per cent, and many of them had been injured by buses.

The judge told the Egged staff

that the public sees bus drivers as highly dangerous and among the "wildest" drivers on the road. He called on the cooperative to "examine itself repeatedly and take steps to improve its safety standards."

Levin accused "many" Egged drivers of not taking road safety seriously enough and of ignoring the law, especially when it comes to speed limits. The cooperative should be less "forgiving" of its members who drive dangerously, he said. "Not only the government, but we, too, will not be guiltless if we don't fight against road accidents," he said.

'Gov't not doing enough against carnage on roads'

By BERNARD JOSEPHS and ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporters

High Court Judge Dov Levin yesterday sharply attacked the government for failing to act vigorously enough in the battle against the carnage on the roads.

He was speaking as Transport Minister Haim Corfu told the cabinet that 14 people were killed in traffic accidents in the week ending last Friday. Corfu also told ministers that 147 drivers had had their licenses temporarily suspended as a result of accidents or serious traffic offences.

The minister said that nine of the

14 dead were pedestrians and four of these were children. During the same week, 45 people were seriously injured. Corfu gave details of a large-scale information campaign designed to heighten awareness of the danger on the roads. And he added that television would screen a fortnightly programme, *On Wheels*, to press home the message.

However, addressing Egged bus cooperative branch managers and other senior staff in Tel Aviv yesterday, Judge Levin, chairman of the Council for the Prevention of Accidents, asserted that steps taken so far by the government were "far from what is needed."

He went on: "In a period of one week recently, 22 people were killed in road accidents. Seven of them were soldiers, but no one declared a national emergency. If these soldiers had been killed in military action you can be sure that such an emergency would have been announced."

Levin said that so far the average death toll on the roads stands at 15 people killed every week, 15 per cent up on last year. More than 3,000 pedestrians had been injured in the past eight months, a rise of 44 per cent, and many of them had been injured by buses.

The judge told the Egged staff

PRO-JORDAN

(Continued from Page One)

the latest in a series of such talks, which had been held previously without publicity and would be continued. Some of those who attended yesterday's discussion met with Foreign Minister Peres in August.

Pazner and Palestinian participants in the meeting said Shamir outlined his opposition to an international conference, noting that outside negotiators would be acting in their own interests, which are not identical with those of the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. He said there was a need for direct and personal dialogue, and that face to face negotiations were the only way to arrive at a peace settlement.

Shamir said he was ready to sit down and negotiate "at any moment" with Jordan's King Hussein, and that he was willing to include other Arab states and a Palestinian delegation in the discussions. He expressed support for Palestinian participation in a delegation with Jordan, but ruled out negotiations with the PLO. Israel is willing to talk to anyone who is not a member of the organization, he asserted.

The Palestinians said that since the international conference had won the support of Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians, it should be pursued. They noted that it was understood that the conference would not be able to veto agreements reached by the parties, and that it could serve as an opening for direct talks in bilateral, geographic committees.

The Palestinians held a separate meeting with the Coordinator of Activities in the Territories, Shmuel Goren, where they discussed agricultural export from the territories to the European Community, and the planning needs of Arab towns.



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir talks yesterday with Palestinian public figures from the West Bank. From left: Beit Jallah mayor Farah al-A'araj, Deir Dibwan mayor Yusuf Ghannam, Tulkarm college head Muhammad Zuhdi Ghazaleh, Shamir, and the Coordinator of Activities in the Territories, Shmuel Goren. (Ya'acov Saar-GPO)

Suspicious freighter docks in Haifa

Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A small freighter sailing under the Bahraini flag last night docked in Haifa after having spent 24 hours off the coast while security officials verified its reason for being in Israeli waters.

The 1,800-ton Romana limped towards Israel on Yom Kippur, stopping some 10 kilometres off the coast of Hadera. Since such conduct automatically arouses suspicion that the vessel is unloading a small speedboat to rush terrorists into Israel, a Navy patrol boat was dispatched to check it out.

Suspicion increased when the Romana was identified as an Arab vessel and the crew said it was coming for repairs in Israel. In addition, some of the crew's papers were missing.

It emerged that the crew had told the truth. The Romana is owned by Mederos of Las Palmas, which acquired it recently and apparently was not aware of the implications of sending an Arab vessel to Israel.

The Romana sailed from Alexandria to Larnaca in Cyprus, where it was discovered that its tail shaft had broken down. Towing it to Haifa turned out to be too expensive, so it limped along on its own while the Israeli agent, Dizengoff, was asked to make arrangements for repairs at Israel Shipyards.

LATE SPORT

The Detroit Tigers yesterday clinched the American League Eastern Division title with a 1-0 victory over the Toronto Blue Jays in the final game of the regular baseball season, earning the right to play the Minnesota Twins for the American League Pennant.

NIS13m. compensation ordered for youth hurt on SPNI tour

By LISA PERLMAN

The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel said yesterday it would appeal the "unprecedented" ruling by a Tel Aviv District Court judge at the end of last week, ordering it to pay NIS 13 million in compensation to an American youth severely injured on one of its tours.

In August 1981, 16-year-old John Cohen, who was touring with a group of 30 American Jewish youths, became 100 per cent disabled after falling 30 metres while on an organized tour in the Golan Heights.

Today, at 22, Cohen remains institutionalized in New York.

Judge Michael Ben Yair ordered the SPNI and the state to pay "American" compensation costs. In addition, he put a restraining order on all SPNI monies and other assets.

Tsur beckons former Israelis with a red rose and tax guide

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Just 70 members of Israel's growing expatriate community here collected their red roses and "Tax Guide for the Returning Israeli" at the entrance to the hall where Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur spoke yesterday.

Tsur was continuing his 18-month worldwide campaign to persuade the 300,000 Israelis estimated to be living abroad that it is time for them to return. Some 3,000 are said to be living in the UK.

He told yesterday's assembly that he expected a 40 to 50 per cent rise in immigration this year — due mainly to increases from the Soviet Union, Romania and South Africa — and that he hoped many Israeli citizens would choose this year to "come home" as well.

"Don't give up on Israel," he urged them. "We certainly haven't given up on you." Tsur said that of 1,500 returning Israelis with whom he had spoken last year, over 25 per cent of them had been living abroad for more than a decade. "That statistic showed me that there is no such thing as a lost Israeli," he said.

Most of the questions put to Tsur at the end of his

address concerned employment opportunities in Israel and, of course, travel tax.

Several members of the audience complained that they "have to pay a fine to visit our families in Israel." "Why don't you cancel the tax altogether?" one asked.

"What, and cancel the defence budget too?" responded Tsur.

"Believe me, we would do without travel tax if we could. Why don't you come to Israel and campaign for its abolition? It's difficult to run the Israeli economy from London." The minister added that, even if he could abolish travel tax for some groups, yordim would not be at the top of his list. "I would dearly wish to cancel the tax for new immigrants in their first three years in the country — they have more of a right to feel aggrieved at the high cost of visiting their families." The meeting closed with a rather half-hearted rendition of "Hatikva" — many of those who had complained about the travel tax noticeably not joining in.

As the hall emptied, it was clear that they had all taken their roses home with them. The tax guides, however, many had left behind.



A bereaved mother mourns yesterday at the Mount Herzl military cemetery on the 14th anniversary of the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war. (Isaac Harari)

Yom Kippur war anniversary

Call to reveal secret part of Agranat report

Jerusalem Post Staff

On the 14th anniversary of the Yom Kippur War, MK Haim Kaufman (Likud) yesterday called on Prime Minister Shamir to order the publication of the secret portions of the report of the Agranat Commission which investigated the war. Kaufman said that military experts who are familiar with the contents of the secret report believe that its publication would not damage state security.

"The Yom Kippur War and its ramifications are on the public's agenda and the information provided to the public about it is highly selective," Kaufman said. "It is important to make the report public so that the public can reach its own conclusions about the mekhal (lapses in judgment) of the Yom Kippur War."

Speaking yesterday at a ceremony at the Kiryat Shaul military cemetery to honour the Yom Kippur War

dead, Defence Minister Rabin declared that Israel had a political and military obligation to ensure that the nation would never again be caught unprepared.

At the Military Cemetery on Mount Herzl, Prime Minister Shamir said the Yom Kippur War was Israel's toughest military operation, especially with respect to casualties. Israel had never previously witnessed such a coordinated show of strength from its enemies across the northern and southern borders. Yet despite the surprise of the assault, he said, the IDF had faced the onslaught with resilience and courage.

Bereaved families gathered at military cemeteries across the country to mourn husbands, fathers, sons and brothers. Hundreds of families will return to the cemeteries during the coming month to mark the anniversaries of the deaths of their loved ones.

High-ranking Japanese official to meet Peres

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Takeshi Hamano, the Japanese parliamentary vice minister for foreign affairs, is currently visiting Israel. He is the highest ranking Japanese to come here since 1968.

Foreign Minister Peres, who will meet Hamano this afternoon, met last week in New York with Japanese Foreign Minister Tadashi Kuranari, who told him that Japan planned to press on with improving relations between the two countries, especially in the economic and cultural spheres.

The Japanese government has recently asked its parliament for an appropriation of \$1 million to help fund the Multinational Force and Observers in Sinai. The move is perceived in Jerusalem as another sign of Japanese goodwill.

One of the thorniest issues in Japanese-Israeli relations is the submis-

sion by numerous Japanese firms to the Arab boycott. Kuranari assured Peres that Japan was moving on this matter too. He pointed out that trade between the two countries had increased by 55 and 66 per cent respectively in the past two years.

Israeli exports to Japan are now on a par with its imports. Each country imports over \$300 m. annually from the other. A delegation of senior Israeli economists will tour Japan in the near future.

Hamano will also meet today with Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hilel and Minister Ezer Weizman, who has been hosted at lunch by MK Haim Kaufman of the Likud, who is the deputy head of the Israeli-Japanese Friendship League.

Hamano has refused to be interviewed here, claiming that his schedule is tight. He is scheduled to leave the country tomorrow.

NISSIM

(Continued from Page One)

and that her colleagues were "not aware" of all the pressures that have been placed on her and her ministry.

A few ministers commented that "something should be done" but agreed with Nissim that the existing wage agreements should not be violated.

Meanwhile, Kupat Holim Clalit doctors announced that they would observe a reduced Shabbat work schedule at Kaplan Hospital in Rehovot and Beit Levinstein rehabilitation hospital in Ra'anana today, in a dispute over increased compensation to physicians for a planned sec-

ond shift in operating rooms and clinics.

There were a number of informal contacts yesterday between the doctors and Kupat Holim Clalit management, who last night started discussing the 10-day-old sanctions that have affected all of the health fund's hospitals.

The doctors have threatened to intensify sanctions unless a solution is found by the end of Succot. Microbiologists and biochemists working for the health fund and for the Health Ministry are to observe a reduced Shabbat schedule starting today.

In deep sorrow we announce the death of our dear father and grandfather

ISRAEL RUTENBERG

The funeral will take place at the New Ramat Hasharon cemetery, Morasha junction at 4 p.m. on Monday, October 5, 1987 (12 Tishrei, 5748).

The Family

We wish to express our sincere condolences to LEA and GERALD ESTERSON and their family on the untimely death of their

Granddaughter

May the Almighty spare them further sorrow

Your colleagues at The Cesall Institute

Chinese hit Lhasa with curfew after rioting

LHASA - A curfew was imposed in Lhasa early yesterday after a bloody demonstration on Thursday by Tibetan nationalists that official reports said left six people dead. Western correspondents said police cars with sirens wailing were seen and heard overnight Saturday in the centre of the Tibetan capital and near Jokhang Temple, scene of the bloodshed.

Chinese authorities ordered foreigners not to leave their hotels at night. Posters in hotels warned guests against taking part in political activities. If they did, the posters said, their safety could not be guaranteed.

A black-out on foreign news coverage appeared to be in force yesterday as a switchboard operator in the Lhasa Hotel - where most journalists were staying - said guests were not allowed to answer the phone. "Those are our orders," the operator said.

China's media said meanwhile that foreigners were involved in the pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa and children were paid to stone police. The government tried to suppress independent reporting.

Xinhua, China's official news agency, said yesterday that six people died in the demonstration Thursday in the Tibetan capital, a city of 310,000.

An American traveller said Saturday that Chinese police withdrew from Jokhang Temple Square, allowing Tibetans to cheerfully loot a burned police station.

Witnesses said some demonstrators were arrested in an earlier protest Sept. 27, but no injuries were reported. They said they did not

know how many people were arrested.

Xinhua disputed travellers' reports that Chinese police fired on the protesters Thursday. It blamed the violence on the Dalai Lama, the Tibetans' spiritual leader.

The Dalai Lama, living in exile in India, condemned the killings, and Tibetan exiles marched in Indian cities including New Delhi and in Bern, Switzerland.

Xinhua's account yesterday said scores of people took part in the protest Thursday. Witnesses said the crowd numbered 2,000.

"Among the rioters were two foreigners who were waving their hands, shouting and egging on the people around to attack the police,"

the Xinhua report said.

Two Xinhua reporters were beaten by 20 demonstrators, according to the agency.

It said that some rioters shouted, "those refusing to join the demonstration will have their houses smashed," and one offered children six jiao (about \$1.6) to throw stones at police.

Xinhua said the rioters threw gasoline bottles at the police station to set it on fire and then rushed in, looting furniture and tearing up identification and registration cards.

Xinhua confirmed travellers' reports that the demonstrators attacked fire engines sent to the burning police station. It said one firefighter was injured when struck on the head by stones.

Xinhua on Saturday disputed travellers' claims that police fired on Tibetans armed only with rocks.

"Some rioters went so far as to snatch away guns carried by police-men and opened fire at the police and common people," said the report, published on the front page of China's leading newspaper, *The People's Daily*.

Witnesses said Thursday's demonstration began after eight monks protesting the detentions on Sept. 27 marched into the square and were arrested. It was the largest known pro-independence demonstration by Tibetans since 1959, when a failed uprising caused the Dalai Lama to flee to India with thousands of his followers.

China, which annexed the region in 1950, insists that Tibet has been part of China since the 13th century. Tibet has a population of 1.9 million. (AP, AFP)

700 years of unrest

HONGKONG (AFP) - Pro-independence unrest in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, is a sign of continuing deep-seated resentment in the Himalayan region against Chinese rule.

China first established control over predominantly Buddhist Tibet about 700 years ago, but its hold over the isolated region was often tenuous, waxing and waning with the changing fortunes of the rulers in Beijing. In the 19th century, as China tried to cope with encroaching Western powers and the imminent end of dynastic rule, Tibet emerged as a quasi-independent state. Its position was reinforced as China was convulsed by revolution, civil war, a Japanese invasion and the final settling of scores between the Kuomintang and Communists that culminated in the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

If Tibet enjoyed a large degree of independence while China was at war with itself, Communist leader Mao Zedong never lost sight of the region's importance, stating as early as 1936 that it should become an autonomous region within a Chinese

federation.

After their victory, the Communists immediately set about turning that ambition into reality. Tibetan leaders were summoned to Beijing, but were judged to be dragging their feet - perhaps encouraged by powers hostile to the new Communist state - so the People's Liberation Army laid its plans. On October 7, 1950, Chinese troops invaded Tibet and by force of arms imposed rule from Beijing.

In early 1951, a Tibetan delegation representing the Dalai Lama and the pro-Befing Panchen Lama travelled to the Chinese capital, where they signed what was titled an "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet."

The Dalai Lama, who had fled to India, returned to rule his land as part of China. From then on, China controlled the region, making good its claim that Tibet had always been part of the national territory.

But the native Tibetan population did not take kindly to Chinese rule and during the 1950s there were sporadic reports of fighting and resistance to Beijing's control.

Pardon my Franglais!

PARIS (Reuters) - A Frenchman can now buy "un barbeque" and even cook "le breakfast" on it without incurring the wrath of the guardians of the French language. And if he is feeling daring, he can eat "le bortsch" and "le cannelloni".

These are some of the 55 foreign words which have been reluctantly endorsed by the Academie Française. The Academie, which has spent more than the past 50 years working on the ninth edition of its dictionary, published the second section yesterday, covering the letter B, and some of C.

"Franglais" - the invasion of the French language by English - is a national obsession in France.

The 232-page second section has twice as many foreign words as were in the last edition in 1935.

But the Academie has drawn the line at "le camping" - well-known as French for "camping". The dictionary does not recognize that meaning.

The Academie hopes to complete publishing its work by the end of the century, but it is unlikely to become what the French may now call "un best-seller". Only 6,500 copies of the first section were sold.

Missing woman found in freezer

NEW YORK (AP) - A family member discovered a 55-year-old Brooklyn woman, who had been missing for more than a month, frozen solid in her kitchen freezer, police said yesterday.

Her 29-year-old son found the woman packed into the one metre high freezer section of a standard-sized refrigerator, said a police spokesman.

The son told police his mother lived alone.



One of the monkeys on board the Soviet mini-sub in space. (AFP)

Ape, off its feed may shoot down Soviet space lab

MOSCOW (AFP) - A Soviet mini-sub, sent into space last Tuesday to study the effects of weightlessness on animals, may be brought back to earth ahead of schedule.

One of the monkeys on board has not eaten or drunk anything since lift-off, space officials here said.

"We are not going to let the monkey die in order to complete the other experiments, and we also want to know exactly what happened," said Oleg Gazenko, director of the Soviet Institute for Medical and Biological Problems. "Did the animal become over-stressed, or did the food dispenser malfunction?"

Playwright Anouilh, 77

PARIS (AFP) - Jean Anouilh, one of France's and this century's leading post-war playwrights, died in Lausanne on Saturday after a heart attack, his long-time companion Ursula Wetzel said yesterday. He was 77.

Anouilh, who had lived in Switzerland for 30 years, was noted for his contemporary treatment of classical themes. He produced some 40 works, among the most notable being *Antigone*, *Ring around the moon*, *Waltz of the Toreadors* and *Becket*. The last two were made into successful films.

Born in Bordeaux in 1910 to a tailor father and a musician mother, he was already writing plays at the age of 10. The family moved to Paris and he started reading law at the Sorbonne, but he had to give up his studies and became an advertising copywriter. He supplemented his income by selling comedy ideas to film producers.

His first contact with the plays of Jean Giraudoux in 1928 was to prove decisive. Four years later his first serious play, *Hermine*, was a relative success, although it was with *Le voyageur sans bagage* (The traveller without luggage) that his brilliant career as a dramatist was launched.

Many of his plays have become standard pieces in theatre repertoires in France and abroad. *Ring around the moon*, based on the classic theme of confusion between identical twins, was rendered into English by Christopher Fry and produced in London and New York in 1950. It has been consistently popular among amateurs and professionals.

Anouilh's name is also associated with about 22 films.



Anouilh in 1972. (AFP)

Pakistani president gets warm welcome in Jordan

AMMAN (AP) - Pakistani President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq arrived here yesterday for a state visit to the country he once served as a military adviser.

King Hussein embraced the Pakistani leader as he stepped off the Pakistan International Airways jet at Amman's military airport.

The two leaders, old acquaintances, smiled frequently as they chatted while walking along the red carpet spread for the arrival ceremony.

They were scheduled to hold talks later in the day on the Iran-Iraq war, the Arab-Israeli conflict and other issues, according to Pakistan Embassy officials.

Mubarak calls for heavy vote

CAIRO (Reuters) - Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, confident of winning a second term in a national referendum, called for a high voter turnout in today's poll.

With a large majority of those slated to cast their ballots today almost certain to endorse him for another six years, he told 14 million eligible voters: Vote yes or no, but vote.

"Some forces outside our borders are trying to raise doubts about our democracy," he said in the last televised speech of his first term.

"By going to the polls, our people must prove they believe in democracy and are the shield of democracy... voting on Monday will be an historic certificate that Egyptians have chosen democracy and cannot live without democracy."

Political analysts see the turnout as signalling how much genuine sup-

port Mubarak has for his middle-of-the-road leadership and multi-party system.

The 59-year-old former air force commander - thrust into power on October 6, 1981, when gunmen killed President Anwar Sadat - has been nominated by the People's Assembly as sole candidate and is a heavy favourite to get over 90 per cent of the vote.

But turnout in national elections last April was only around 50 per cent, a clear indication of widespread apathy.

The government has been trying to whip up enthusiasm over the past month, through rallies, posters, slogans and "We want Mubarak" declarations by officially-sponsored organizations representing millions of workers, peasants and professionals.



Mass of 12,529 runners from 59 countries leaves the Brandenburg Gate yesterday at the start of the Berlin Marathon. The race was won by Suleiman Nyambui of Tanzania in two hours, 11 minutes and 11 seconds. (AFP)

Tribal priestess's magic fails to protect rebels from bullets

KAMPALA (Reuters) - Ugandan troops are pursuing thousands of rebels, led by a tribal priestess whose followers believe a magic ointment protects them from bullets.

About 4,000 guerrillas of self-styled prophet Alice Lakwena were caught by a mobile army group in southeastern Uganda on Friday and routed in an eight-hour battle.

Unofficial sources said rebel losses, earlier estimated at 200 by journalists who visited the battlefield, had risen to 300. They said 26 government soldiers had been killed.

Fighting continued sporadically on Saturday as government troops pursued the fleeing guerrillas who fight stripped to the waist and with their trousers rolled up to their knees, relying for protection on a supposedly magic ointment they believe wards off bullets. Lakwena's followers have suffered heavy losses in a series of clashes with troops in the last three months, but they still appear to believe that the ointment works.

Alice Lakwena, who leads the "holy spirit" movement, is regarded as a powerful priestess.

London double murder spreads panic among Iranian community

By DAVID HOROVITZ LONDON - Ali Tavakoli, for eight years an attraction at Hyde Park's Speakers' Corner, was missing from his soapbox yesterday.

For the Iranian engineer had been shot dead, together with his 24-year-old son Nader, by a gunman in his Wembley flat on Friday, in a shooting that has sent panic sweeping through the 8,000-strong Iranian exile community here.

If the police anti-terrorist squad had not been convinced of the existence of a Khomeini-inspired assassination squad here by the two July attacks on anti-Khomeini targets - the car-bombing of former minister Amir Hussein Amir-Parviz and the shooting of Palestinian cartoonist Ali Naji al-Adhami - they certainly have no doubts now.

It is believed that a death list containing at least a dozen names has been prepared by the Iranian Security Services in Teheran; Tavakoli, as one of the leaders of the dissident Iranians here, would have been near the top.

Apart from his Hyde Park appearances, Tavakoli published anti-Khomeini leaflets, arranged memorial services for the late shah, and even stuck posters condemning the ayatollah in the lifts of his apartment building.

The presence of an Iranian hit squad is just one more headache for an already stretched anti-terrorist squad. It was established earlier this year following reports that a Libyan assassination unit had set up a base in the UK.

Paris celebrates 100 years of the In'tl Trib

PARIS (Reuters) - The cream of the journalistic world in France and the U.S. drew its breath, counted to five and blew out the lights on the Eiffel Tower.

The city of Paris lent the steel monument on Saturday night to serve as the 100th candle on the birthday cake of its English-language newspaper, the *International Herald Tribune*.

The paper celebrated its centenary with a gala banquet for 1,500 guests in a plastic marquee erected on the steps of Paris's Trocadero Gardens.

After the paper's directors had blown out the 99 candles on a giant chocolate cake, guests were asked to blow across the Seine River at the brightly-lit Eiffel Tower.

The tower, only half built when *The Tribune* first published in 1887, duly dimmed.

The gala was part of the \$2 million festivities organized by the paper for its centenary year. French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac made a brief appearance while guests at the sit-down dinner included former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and senior media figures from Washington, New York and Paris.

On the menu were duck liver pate, lamb cutlets cooked in pastry, with spinach mousses and Roquefort salad, washed down with white and pink champagne and Baron Rothschild's claret.

Humourist Art Buchwald, who started on the paper in 1949, remembered leaner times when it was known for its stingy salaries.

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'Drag the Israelis to conference table'

Thatcher urges Reagan to back Peres's plan

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LONDON.—In advance of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to Israel later this month, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has written to President Reagan, urging him to come down firmly in support of a Middle East peace conference as proposed by Foreign Minister Peres.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that Thatcher had "bombed" Reagan with letters to this effect recently, with the latest missive urging the president to "drag the Israelis" to the conference table.

Whitehall sources confirmed yesterday that a reply from Reagan had been received on

Friday, but they would not disclose its contents beyond noting that the president had agreed that the peace process must be kept alive.

Thatcher firmly endorsed the Peres peace plan at the time of the foreign minister's visit here in June, and British Foreign Office ministers are travelling to the Middle East in the next two months to see what role, if any, Britain can play in bringing the various parties to the conference table.

The Labour Party's foreign affairs spokesman Gerald Kaufman, meanwhile, has called on Israel to accept that the PLO must be represented at any peace conference.

While firmly supporting Peres's approach to the peace process, Kaufman said that Peres must "stop deluding himself" about the PLO.

"If a Middle East peace conference is to have any genuine chance of success, then the Palestinians must be represented, and it is the PLO who must represent them," he told fringe meetings at last week's Labour Party Conference in Blackpool.

"It may be argued that the PLO are not necessarily the most valid representatives," said Kaufman, who is Jewish and a long-standing supporter of Israel. "But the Palestinians have no mechanism other than the PLO. They have no way to elect their representatives."

Although Britain, under Thatcher, seems keen to play a part in bringing about a peace conference, it appears that its major contribution could be in pressuring the U.S. to interfere in the internal Shamir-Peres quarrel.

Reagan is known to be extremely reluctant to do so, but he has a lot of respect for Thatcher, and it is her contention that the U.S. must act now or risk seeing a genuine opportunity for advancement of the peace process slip away.

Thatcher is understood to have discussed the issue at each of her recent meetings with Reagan, and she also raised it in talks with Vice President Bush here last week.

She was reportedly extremely alarmed by a meeting she had last month with Jordan's King Hussein at which he underlined the dangers of continued American inaction, and it was after that meeting that she embarked upon her letter-writing spree to the U.S. president.

Funeral service today

Hovav represented best of Hebrew broadcasting

By GREER FAY CASHMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Veteran broadcaster Moshe Hovav will be buried this afternoon at Jerusalem's Har Hamehuchot cemetery in Givat Shaul, following a 4 p.m. service at the Sanhedria funeral parlour. Hovav, 58, died on Friday in Copenhagen, where he ran the head office of the Jewish National Fund in Scandinavia.

Earlier this year, Hovav underwent open-heart surgery in Israel. The operation left him weak. Last month, he went into a coma from which he never emerged.

The dapper Hovav, who joined Israel Radio in 1951, represented the best of Hebrew broadcasting.

His powerful, resonant voice gave even the most mundane news a sense of controlled drama. His diction and pronunciation set an example for those who worked with him and came after him.

His skills put him in great demand as a master of ceremonies and as a reader of proclamations. Nakdimon Rogel, the Broadcasting Authority's head of special projects, worked with Hovav for 30 years. "I feel as if I have lost a part of myself," he said yesterday. "I've lost many friends and colleagues over the years, but Moshe was someone special."

Rogel recalled that during the seven-year period when Hovav had been chief announcer at Israel Radio, he had always taken the least desirable shifts for himself, leaving others free to spend Sabbaths and festivals with their families.

Rogel said that Hovav was always pleasant and polite. "An extremely responsible man," to whom order was important. He trained scores of radio announcers, treating them "as if they were his own children. He was like a good commander who



Moshe Hovav (Emka)

trains his troops to be ready for any contingency.

Hovav held many posts in the Broadcasting Authority, including that of head of the operations department; director of Israel Radio; acting head of Hebrew programmes at Israel Television, and spokesman for the Broadcasting Authority. He was also a member of the team that helped to establish ITV.

Reuma Eldar, one of his five sisters, is also a veteran broadcaster. Hovav is survived by his wife Hanna and their 10-month-old son Dror; his sons Itamar and Gil from his first marriage to the late Drora Ben-Avi (who was a granddaughter of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda), a brother, five sisters and a grandson.

DIRECTOR. — Zvi Dagan, who previously held executive positions at Jerusalem's Sha'are Zedek and Hadassah-University Hospitals and the Hebrew University, has been appointed administrative director of the Ezra Nashim Mental Health Centre in the capital.

Refused to be puppet rabbi for Soviets

Makhnovka rebbe dies at 92

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

Thousands of ultra-Orthodox Jews ascended the Mount of Olives early yesterday morning to bury Abraham Joshua Heschel Twersky, the Makhnovka rebbe, who died of cancer on Friday at age 92. He was a descendant of a disciple of the Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Hassidic Judaism.

For almost 50 years Twersky led a persecuted Jewish community in the Soviet Union, spending several years in a Siberian labour camp for refusing to serve as a puppet of the ruling regime.

For standing up to Stalin he received the IDF's Sinai decoration. The Twersky family established centres of Hassidic learning throughout the Ukraine. Long before Chernobyl became synonymous with nuclear disaster, it was an enclave of Hassidic thought founded by Menahem Nahum Twersky (1730-1787), a disciple of the Ba'al Shem Tov.

Menahem Nahum lived in penury and wrote the book *Me'or Einayim*, now the name of a Twersky family yeshiva in Jerusalem's Geula quarter. Menahem's son, Mordechai of Chernobyl, amassed money and power and left the dynasty to his eight sons.

One of them, David, is said to have sat on a silver throne on which the words "David King of Israel

lives forever" were inscribed in gold. The throne and its inscription worried Russian authorities and prompted them to arrest David.

The Makhnovka rebbe descends from another of the eight sons — Issac, who settled in Skvira, the place of origin of the Hassidic Jews who founded the township of New Square (Skvira) in Rockland County, New York.

Abraham Joshua Heschel Twersky was 22 when his father died and he became the leader of the Makhnovka community. He later moved to Moscow, where religious observance was not as restricted as it had been in the provinces.

After 1948, Twersky served as a "contact" person between the diplomats of the newly proclaimed Jewish state and Soviet Jews, according to Rabbi Nahum Twersky, the dean of Me'or Einayim Yeshiva in Jerusalem and a cousin of the deceased rabbi.

Twersky refused an order by the Soviet authorities to serve as their puppet "head rabbi," and was sent

to Siberia for three-and-a-half years. When the commander of the Siberian work camp ordered Twersky to work on Shabbat, Twersky reportedly ripped open his shirt and asked the commander to "shoot me."

After surviving work camps and, later, internal exile, Twersky immigrated to Israel in 1963. He left behind, in the hands of Israeli officials, a Torah scroll that had belonged to the Ba'al Shem Tov. He was afraid that the Soviet authorities would

confiscate it.

The Torah was passed through diplomatic mail and arrived in Israel some six weeks after the rabbi died, according to Nahum Twersky.

Once in Israel, Twersky founded a large synagogue and yeshiva in Bnei Brak, where he lived. He was a member of Agudat Yisrael's Council of Torah Sages.

Twersky had no children and decided before his death to make his sister's grandson, Rabbi Yehoshua Rokah, his successor.



Thousands attend the funeral of the Makhnovka rebbe. (Scoop 80)

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Phone in to learn about influenza

Post Science and Health Reporter

Everything you always wanted to know about influenza, its dangers, side effects and vaccinations can be learned from open phone line sponsored by Kupat Holim Meuhedet tomorrow. Dr. Binyamin Harbut, a geriatrics expert at Shmuel Harofeh Hospital, Dr. Zion Meshulam, an internist at Hadassah-University Hospital, Dr. Yehuda Karpuch, an Assaf Harofeh Hospital expert on infectious diseases, and public health expert Dr. Shmuel Shiria will answer questions.

The line will be open between 4 and 6 p.m. to all callers, including those not members of the health fund. The phone numbers are (03)229880, 234437 and 233251.

It will be the first of many open-line programmes to be offered by Kupat Holim Meuhedet. For years, the Histradut health fund has run weekly call-ins for the public on various health subjects.

Ibrahimieh College: The conflict over expansion

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

Tear-gas canisters of various shapes and sizes fill a glass display case at the entrance of Ibrahimieh College in Jerusalem.

The canisters are remnants of a clash between demonstrating students and police in April 1985. Just beyond them, in another glass case, is the symbol of a less overt but ultimately more important conflict: a model of an expanded school facility to accommodate more students.

The argument over Ibrahimieh's expansion has dragged on for two-and-a-half years and was recently referred back to the city's building and planning committee for more discussion.

Ibrahimieh, an independent, private school, is situated on Mt. Scopus, directly below the Hebrew University campus. The school accommodates some 765 pupils from elementary school through

high school, and also runs an afternoon community college in which roughly 200 students take courses in accounting, management, and other subjects especially designed to meet employment needs in the West Bank, the school administration says.

Critics of the expansion plan — including some police and security officials, Likud city councillor Shlomo Halevi and ultra-Orthodox Shas city councillors — see the school as a security threat. They recall times when the road in front of the college was blocked and stones were thrown at passing Israeli cars.

"What's there is problematic enough from a security point of view," says one ranking police official. "There's no reason to add to it."

But Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek's "One Jerusalem" coalition maintains that it is a far greater security threat to leave hundreds of

Arab youths without an educational framework by which they can advance. This is particularly true, they say, given the chronic shortage of classroom space in the Arab sector due to the lack of government funds.

"If you don't give them a school and you don't want them to study in private schools, what can they do? Sign on with the PLO?" City manager Aaron Sarig asks. "Security, in the broader sense, means providing people with some kind of framework. It's preventive medicine."

Ibrahimieh prepares its pupils for the Jordanian matriculation exams and offers enrichment classes as well. From first grade on, pupils are required to study English, Arabic and French. Unlike other Arabic schools in East Jerusalem, the school's classes are co-educational.

Students in the community college's finance and accounting department take special courses in Hebrew to help them in the workplace,

but otherwise Hebrew is not taught. A few of the high school graduates attend Hebrew University, but most go to universities on the West Bank or abroad.

The school's past is, in a sense, haunting it as the expansion plan sits in city hall. There have been incidents of stone-throwing and blocked roads — most prominently on April 4, 1985, when students demonstrated in solidarity with hunger striking security prisoners. In March, youths blocked the road with large stones, overturned trashbins, and burned tires in a demonstration preceding Land Day.

Nihad Abugharbieh, president of the school, says that the demonstrations were caused largely by youths who do not attend the school and that he opposes all such disturbances because it hurts the "well-being" of the college. Those tear-gas canisters on display at the school are not meant as a badge of pride,

but rather as testimony to what the school administration believes was the brutal overreaction on the part of the police.

"If you compare it with what goes on in the rest of the West Bank, we are a very quiet college," Abugharbieh says.

"The ultra-Orthodox have been demonstrating and throwing stones for the past 10 weeks," one of Abugharbieh's aides adds. "Has anyone stopped giving them construction permits? I doubt it."

The school's expansion plan would add one large wing with enough room for an additional 400 to 500 elementary and junior high school pupils. Until a month ago, however, city hall said it would only approve the plan if Ibrahimieh agreed to close its community college within three years, presumably because some officials believed that the community college was the source of the disturbances at the college.

More recently, the planning and building committee approved a proposal in which Ibrahimieh would build half of its proposed expansion without having to close the community college. But the Likud's Halevi requested that the proposal be returned to the committee for more discussion, which has yet to occur because of the holiday schedule.

Deputy Mayor Avraham Kehila, chairman of the committee, says that he and other "One Jerusalem" councillors will continue to support the most recent version of the expansion plan. This would theoretically assure passage of the plan in both the committee and the city council.

If the delay lasts much longer, Abugharbieh says, he will appeal to the High Court. He claims that the city is stalling his plan, the same way that the Interior Ministry is stalling the city's plan for a new soccer stadium at Manahat.

TODAY'S ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL TV
8:00 Telecast 8:00 Keep Fit 8:40 School broadcasts
14:00 Telecast 14:00 Contact 14:30 Making Magic
14:55 Nahshon 15:00 Family Problems 15:40 Keep Fit
15:50 Telecast 15:55 The Count of Monte Cristo (part 3)
17:00 A New Evening — live magazine

ISRAEL TV
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES
17:30 The Care Bears 17:55 Children's drama (part 4)
Sports 19:30 News

ARABIC-LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES
18:30 News roundup 18:32 Programme Trailer 18:35 Sports 19:30 News

HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at
20:00 with a news roundup
20:02 North and South, Part 5 of a 24-part American drama serial
21:00 Mabat Newsreel

21:35 Family Ties — American comedy series
22:00 Entourage Free — live broadcast with audience participation
23:10 Miami Vice — American detective series
24:00 News

ISRAEL TV CHANNEL 2
19:00 Till Pop 20:00 Documentary
21:00 Pop 2

JORDAN TV (unofficial)
19:30 Cartoons 19:30 French Hour 19:30 News in Hebrew 19:00 News in Arabic 19:30 Kate and Allie 20:10 Falcon Crest 21:00 News in English 21:20 Mini Series

MIDDLE EAST TV

12:30 Another Life 13:00 700 Club 13:30 Shape-Up
14:00 Muppet Babies 14:30 Super Book 15:00 Fraggle
Rock 15:30 Afternoon Movie: The Adventures of Jody
Shenan 17:00 Happy Days 17:30 Laverne & Shirley
18:00 News 19:00 Magnum 20:00 Monday Night
Football 22:00 700 Club 22:30 Another Life

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC

6:01 Morning Melodies 7:00 Bach: Suite No. 1; Mozart: Concerto for Flute and Orchestra (Adorjan, Paillard); Handel: Passacaglia for Violin and Viola (Perman, Zuberman); Schubert: Symphony No. 5, "Great" (Vienna Solo); 9:00 Britain: Variations on a Theme by Frank Bridge; Poulenc: Concerto for Organ, Strings and Trumpet; Saint-Saens: Piano Trio Op. 15; Vieuxtemps: Violin Concerto No. 4 (Perman, Paris/Sanborn); Beethoven: "Prometheus," ballet music 12:00 Zecharia Flavin, piano; Works by Prokofiev, Schumann and Ravel 13:00 Handel: Concerto for Harp and Orchestra; Giuliani: Grand Sonata for Flute and Guitar; Schubert: Symphony No. 8, "Unfinished" (Philharmonia/Singapore); Tchaikovsky: Rocco Variations; Faure: "Kalligui," Prelude from "Panopie" 16:00 From the World's Concert Hall: Camerata Baroque — Mozart: 3 Sonatas; Telmarn: Concerto for 2 Violins and Strings; Vivaldi: Concerto for Flute and Strings; Artberg: Suite for Violin, Viola and Strings; 18:00 Emphasis on the Performance 19:00 Rachmaninov: Piano Concerto No. 4 (Aashitany, Concertgebouw/Helink); Prokofiev: Symphony No. 4 (French National/Rostropovich) 20:00 Musical Wednesday 20:30 Japan Radio Symphony Orchestra — Mendelssohn: "Elijah" (Popp, Weid/Sawallisch) 22:30 "Then and Again" 23:00 Schubert: Song Cycle

RADIO 1st

6:03 Programme for Olim 7:30 Programme in Easy Hebrew 8:05 Compass 9:05 Information for Listeners 10:05 Hebrew songs and dances 11:05 Morning Pearls 12:05 Mid-East Weekly 13:05 News in English 13:30 News in French 14:05 Chinese program 15:05 Free Period — Everyman's University 16:05 The Middle Years 17:10 Folk songs 18:05 Jewish Traditions 19:05 The Mishna Portion for today 19:20 Bible Reading 19:30 Programme for Olim 22:05 Every Man has a Star — with astrologist Ili Pecker

RADIO 2nd

6:04 Editorial Review 6:10 Gymnastics 6:30 News roundup 6:52 Green Light — drivers' corner 7:00 This Morning — news magazine 8:05 Making an Issue 8:05 Morning Star — Neil Sadassa 10:05 All Shades of the Network 12:10 O.K. on Two 13:00 Midday — news commentary, music 14:05 Arts and Culture Magazine 14:30 Humour 15:05 Magic Moments 15:05 Economics Magazine 17:05 Hebrew songs 18:05 Free Period — education magazine 18:45 Sports 19:00 Today — radio newsmagazine 19:35 Law and Justice Magazine 20:05 Cantorial Hit Parade 22:05 New Hebrew Words 22:30 Hebrew songs 23:05 A Matter of Taste (repeat) 00:15 Jazz and More

ARMY

6:05 Morning Sounds 6:30 Open Your Eyes — songs, information 7:00 7:30 Good Morning Israel 9:30 In the Morning 10:05 Music 11:05 Right Now 13:05 Hebrew hits 14:05 Daily songs 15:05 Festival songs 16:05 Four in the Afternoon 17:00 Evening Newsmagazine 18:05 Soldiers on the Golan Heights 19:05 Hebrew songs 20:05 Classical Music Magazine (repeat) 21:00 Mabat — TV newsmagazine 21:30 No Quiet Night 22:05 Popular songs 23:05 The 24th Hour 00:05 Night Birds — songs, chat

ARMY TWO

19:05 Radio Radio 20:05 Sports Magazine 22:05 Coffee Break 23:05 All That Jazz

WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS 9.90 per line, including VAT. Insertion every day of the month costs NIS 197.80 per line, including VAT, per month. Rates calculated according to regular newspaper column width.

JERUSALEM

MUSEUMS
ISRAEL MUSEUM. Opening Exhibition: Captive David, Jerusalem 1987 (opens 6.10 at 5 p.m.). Special Exhibit: The Priestly Benediction on Silver Scrolls. Exhibitions: Nagav 1987, Magdalena Abakanowicz: 0 Emphasis-Arieh Aroch, Michael Gross, (part 1), 3000 Years of Chinese Art (until 31.10), 0 Tradition and Revolution: The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art (0 Boris Aronson (1899-1990), From Kiev to New York — stage designs, sculpture, collage (until 5.10), 0 Clegg and Gutman: Work 1986-7, photographs (0 Islamic Jewellery 8th cent. to the present (0 Edomite Shrine discoveries from Oboluk, Nagav (0 News in Antiquities '87 (0 Wondrous India (0 Toy Sculptures (0 Permanent Archaeology, Heritage and Ethnic Art exhibitions: Shrine of the Book (Dead Sea Scrolls), ISRAEL MUSEUM VISITING HOURS: 10-5, 11: Guided tour of Museum (English), 11: Puppet Theatre, ages 6 and above, "The Frog Prince", 11 & 12:15 p.m.: "Rama's Adventure", Puppet Theatre, ages 5-10, 3: Guided tour of Archaeology galleries (English).

ROCKEFELLER (Archaeology) Museum: Crusader Art (0 Animals in Ancient Art. Open 10-5. Guided tour (English) 11.

L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun-Thur. 10-11:30; 6 p.m. closed. Sat. and holiday even 10-1. Holidays: check with Museum. 2 Hagalmah St. Tel. 6612612. Bus No. 15.

SKIRBALL MUSEUM of Biblical Archaeology of the Hebrew Union College, 13 King David Street, Tel. 203333. Visiting hours: Sun-Thur. 10-4; Fri. Sat. and Hol. 10-2.

Conducted Tours

HADASSAH HOSPITAL. Ein Kerem. Chapel Windows — synagogue open 8.00 a.m.-4.00 p.m. Tours, Sun-Thur., hourly, on the half hour: 8.30 a.m.-12.30 p.m. Fri.

RAMAT HASHARON
Kochav: The Living Daylights, Sun-Tue. 7; Wed. 8:30; Thur. 7: Something Wild, Sun-Tue. 8:30; Wed. 11:45; Thur. 9:30; An American Wolf, Wed. Thur. 11 a.m.

PETAH TIKVA
G.E. Mechal 1: Beverly Hills Cop II, Sun-Tue. 5; 7:15; 9:30; The Untouchables, Wed. 10; 7:15; 9:30; Beverly Hills Cop I, Wed. 10; 7:15; 9:30; Beverly Hills Cop II, Wed. 10; 7:15; 9:30; Beverly Hills Cop I, Wed. 10; 7:15; 9:30; Beverly Hills Cop II, Wed. 10; 7:15; 9:30

KIRYAT ONO
Community Centre: The Living Daylights, Mon. 7; 9:15; Tue. 8; Thur. 4:30, 7; 9:15

open 8.00 a.m.-12.45 p.m. Tours, hourly on the half hour: 9.30-11.30 a.m. Entrance fee. Half-day tours of the installations: Sun-Tue., Thur. Details: 02-416533, 446271.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY
English tours daily Sunday through Thursday: 1. Mount Scopus, 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Administration Building. Buses 9, 24, 46, 28 & 23 to the first underground stop. 2. Givat Ram Campus, 9 a.m. from the Sherman Building. Buses 9, 28, 24. Tel. 882819.

AMIT WOMEN (formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 235154.

TEL AVIV MUSEUM
TEL AVIV MUSEUM Exhibitions: Treasures of the Bible Lands. 0 New Bezael 1986-87 0 Succot tour: Wed. 7:10, 10:2; Thur. 8:10, 7:10 p.m. 0 Hebrew Bible: Stein Museum: closed for renovations. VISITING HOURS: (Museum and Pavilion): Sun-Thur. 10 a.m.-8 p.m.; Fri. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; 7-10 p.m.

Conducted Tours

AMIT WOMEN (formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 235154.

ORT. To visit our technological High Schools call Jerusalem 533141; Tel Aviv 396171, 233231, 240529; Netanya 33744. RIA AMIT. (P.W.). Visit our projects. Tel Aviv, 210791; Jerusalem 244878.

HAIFA MUSEUMS
HAIFA MUSEUM. 28 Shebbetay Levy St. Tel. 523285. Exhibitions: Music and Ethnology: The Art of Porcelain.

Modern Art — Prints from the Atelier Mouri, Paris; Ancient Art — Egyptian textiles, terracotta figurines, Shikmona finds; Open: Sun-Thur. & Sat. 10-1, Tue. & Sun-Thur. 10-4; Fri. Sat. and Hol. 10-2.

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CINEMA PERFORMANCES

For possible schedule changes due to Succot holiday, see cinema page in magazine of 2.10.87.



Gamma-Liaison/Jean Gaudy

Mixed Feelings About U.S. Role in the Gulf

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

THE widening war in the Persian Gulf has polarized and frightened much of the Arab world. With radio warnings from anxious skippers filling the air and American, British and French warships and Dutch, Italian and Belgian minesweepers patrolling gulf waters, worried Arabs have joined the United States, the Soviet Union and China in demanding a cease-fire.

After long observing a semblance of neutrality, the West is leaning on Iran, which angrily threatens to retaliate. Across the gulf, Arab reactions to the growing pressure on Iran range from jubilation to wariness. Much of the joy is in Iraq, which recognizes it will need considerable help in its war against Teheran. "The American presence has our full approval," said Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. But Iraq is still far from marshaling united Arab opposition to its Persian enemy, which Mr. Aziz calls "an expansionist regime aimed not only at Iraq but against all Arabs."

Among the myriad Arab interests and ideologies, there is no consensus view about Iran, a non-Arab presence. To Algeria, Iraqis are comrades who, like them, rose up against foreign domination. To Syria, Teheran is an ally useful in extracting money from rich Arabs while wreaking revenge on Iraqi foes. For Libya, Iran is its only truly anti-American companion in the Middle East. Even Arab countries that loathe Iran have reasons to maintain a thin thread of amity. In Egypt, where democracy has spawned a strong undercurrent of Islamic fundamentalism, Government hostility to Iran is tempered by the fact that thousands of Egyptians would like to emulate the ayatollahs' Koranic rule. Also, Iran holds several hundred Egyptians, who were captured fighting on Iraq's side. And in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain, which have large Shiite populations, the Sunni vision of Shiite Iranians as renegades is far from universal and must always be justified and corroborated. In vulnerable states like the United Arab Emirates, trade with Iran is so important that enmity must be veiled.

Forging an anti-Iran front would have been easier in the days of the Shah, who thought of his country as a European creation misplaced in the Middle East by an accident of history. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic Iran is firmly back in the Middle East fold, as evidenced by its involvement in Lebanon's ethnic wars and

unrelenting rhetoric against Israel, while the Ayatollah's resolve in standing up to enemies, from Iraq to the United States, appeals to some Arabs. Iran's Persian identity, however, combined with its drive to force its version of politicized Islam on Arab countries, which collectively consider themselves the original Moslems, has irritated even Teheran's friends. "There isn't an 'Arab front' as such against Iran," said Hassan Abdelrahman, a Palestine Liberation Organization representative here. "What is there, is a consensus about the danger that this war represents for the whole region. All Arabs welcomed the revolution as an asset for the independence of the region from big powers, but the Iranian hegemonic tendency, this obsession with fundamentalism to the exclusion of all other thoughts and trends, is unacceptable to all."

The new American willingness to use force against Iraqis laying mines in the gulf may alter Arab priorities, several senior Arab envoys and foreign ministers said here last week. Most Arabs hope to avert an open fight in which they will be seen as siding with Washington. The Arab idea in the gulf was to generate "an international effort, including a Soviet presence, however diminutive," said Clovis Maksoud, the Arab League representative. "The U.S. wants us to think it is a unilateral American undertaking or, at best, a Western undertaking." Contents Ali Triki, the Libyan delegate: "The United States is simply exploiting the situation to get military and political gains in the gulf."

Rebuff to Saudi Arabia

Even Washington's close friends are somewhat apprehensive. Saudi Arabia, Oman and Bahrain, which carry on substantial military and intelligence cooperation with Washington, are keeping this connection as discreet as possible. And Arab diplomats noted that Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, during his two-week tour of the gulf, was not invited to Kuwait, whose tankers the United States Navy is guarding.

Reasons for the reticence begin with the longstanding American relationship with Israel, which is anathema to thousands of Palestinians living in the region. Also, gulf countries are angered by rebuffs such as last week's letter to President Reagan by 64 members of the United States Senate opposing the sale of weapons to Saudi Arabia. "These things are meant as a reminder of the Israeli whip over the American overall policy in the Middle East, which includes the gulf," Mr. Maksoud said. Kuwait, which provides Iraq's chief overland access

The Soviet Connection Overtures to Both Sides

THE Soviet Union is moving to repair its troubled relations with Iran and at the same time expand Soviet influence among the Arab countries. After the 1979 revolution, Iran cut its economic ties to its superpower neighbor, shutting down a gas pipeline to the southern Soviet Union, and closing Soviet consulates. From 1981 to 1983, thousands of Moscow's Iranian allies, including members of the socialist Mujahedeen Khalq guerrillas and the Communist Tudeh Party, were executed.

Iran also supports three mujahedeen resistance groups fighting the Russians in Afghanistan and harbors one million Afghan refugees. And it is seeking support, and fomenting dissent, among the 40 million or so Soviet Moslems.

In February, the Russians launched a major diplomatic effort to improve relations. The Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister, Yuli M. Vorontsov, has visited Teheran twice, and the Russians began negotiating to re-open the pipeline and build a railroad through Iran to the Persian Gulf. Many experts doubt that Moscow would support an American-sponsored arms embargo of Iran, which remains a major political prize.

Meanwhile, the Russians have also tried to expand their ties with the gulf Arab states, where American influence has been strong, including Oman, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia, whose oil minister visited the Moscow this year.

for military and civilian supplies, has been subjected to bombings of industrial facilities, missile attacks and at least one assassination attempt against its ruler, Emir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir as-Sabah, organized by Iranian-sponsored terrorists. "We can only go so far," added the senior gulf diplomat. "We are living in a tinderbox. When the war broke out, the Iraqis asked us only for moral support. Now it has become a gulf war, our war."

Some analysts argue that this fear of the Washington connection may eventually fade if the United States does not cut and run after the first costly confrontation with Iran. "Visibility and longevity are crucial to get people used to the idea that the Americans are serious about protecting us," said Ateed I. Dawisha, an Iraqi scholar at George Mason University in Virginia. Fear of American policy swings has been widespread since the withdrawal of the Marines from Lebanon in 1983 after 241 servicemen were killed by an Iranian-inspired bombing. "There isn't any excuse in the gulf. The American fleet isn't isolated or weak. This isn't Beirut," Mr. Dawisha added.

Predictably, Iran has a different view. Iranian officials, interviewed during the recent visit here of the Iranian President Ali Khamenei, and diplomats familiar with Iranian strategy say Teheran cannot afford to back down before the Americans. They say the Iranian public, including the families of the men killed, the 300,000 Revolutionary Guards and much of the clergy, supports continuation of the fighting until the Iraqi Government is toppled.

Iranian officials and diplomats close to them say Iran is weighing its options but is increasingly leaning toward launching a military blow at Americans in the gulf. "I think we can afford the punishment," said an Iranian official based in London who asked not to be identified. "Frankly, an attack against Teheran or other cities by American airplanes can only create patriotic feelings at home and support for us in the gulf."

Foreign Minister Aziz of Iraq disagreed with the Iranian conclusion but not with his assertion that Iran will continue fighting. "The Iranian clergy are like the dinosaurs coming up from the basement of history," he said. "They will never stop until they are wiped out."

Specter's Opposition Helps Raise Doubts

The Bork Battle: Visions of the Constitution

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

ON the eve of Judge Robert H. Bork's confirmation hearings, the question was whether the liberal opposition had a realistic chance of defeating the distinguished Supreme Court nominee. Three weeks later, as the Senate Judiciary Committee finished its inquiry and prepared for a vote this Tuesday, the question became whether the Reagan Administration could salvage the nomination.

There were signs of mass defections among the conservative Southern Democrats who collectively hold the key to Judge Bork's fate on the Senate floor. In addition, Senator Arlen Specter, a Pennsylvania Republican who won high marks from both sides for his thoughtful questioning of Judge Bork, announced that he was unpersuaded of the nominee's commitment to "fundamental principles of constitutional law" and would vote no.

Judge Bork's Senate supporters insisted that the nomination was still alive. President Reagan lashed out several times last week at the nominee's opponents, accusing them of "unfair and unfounded attacks." But there were reports, strongly denied by the White House, that the nomination would soon be withdrawn. Explanations for the turnabout ranged from the vital



Senator Arlen Specter

role of the black vote in modern Southern politics, to the passionate and astute effort by the opponents' coalition, to the inherent weakness of the Administration's strategy in repackaging Judge Bork, for years the country's best known conservative legal theorist, as a "mainstream moderate."

All these observations were accurate. But the rising political tide at week's end threatened to obscure another factor, more elusive yet central to the surprising turn of events: Two visions of the Constitution had emerged in the hearings, which amounted to a national lesson on the Constitution in its bicentennial year. At its core, the bitter confirmation battle had become a referendum on which vision was closer to those of the senators and of the American people.

One revealing moment came late in the second day of Judge Bork's testimony, when Senator Paul Simon of Illinois, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, reminded the judge of a remark he made in a speech two years ago: "What a court adds to one person's constitutional rights, it subtracts from the rights of others." Did he still believe that, Mr. Simon asked. "Well, yes, Senator," Judge Bork replied. "I think it's a matter of plain arithmetic."

This view of the Constitution as a kind of zero-sum system, in which one party can win only at another's ex-

pense, was sharply at variance with the vision put forward by Judge Bork's opponents. They spoke of the Constitution in organic rather than arithmetical terms, as a system elastic enough so that adding to the rights of some did not necessarily diminish the rights of others. Where Judge Bork insisted that the text of the Constitution and the intent of its Framers were the only legitimate guides for a judge, the opponents portrayed the Constitution as a concept of liberty destined to continue growing well beyond the bounds of the text itself.

A New Light on Old Rulings

This was not an exercise in platitudes. Rather, the hearings put a bicentennial spotlight on issues that many people regarded as long settled, such as civil rights, privacy and free speech, but that suddenly took on a fresh urgency in the face of Judge Bork's criticisms of decades of Supreme Court decisions in these areas.

The competing visions were crystallized by the debate over the decisions establishing a right of privacy, which the nominee's opponents see as an essential framework of constitutional protections for modern living. While Judge Bork accepted the rulings on free speech and equal protection that he had strongly criticized over the years, he continued to insist that the Court's privacy decisions were illegitimate because the right to privacy was not in the Constitution. The Connecticut law banning the use of contraceptives, which the Court struck down on privacy grounds in 1965, was "arbitrary," Judge Bork said, but the Court's remedy was worse. "It comes out of nowhere and doesn't have any rooting in the Constitution," he said, maintaining that lacking such a rooting in text or the Framers' intent,

judges invite "disastrous" consequences.

Seeking to make the case for him as a mainstream jurist, Judge Bork's supporters tended to stress his credentials rather than his views. Others, such as Lloyd N. Cutler, a prominent Democratic lawyer, built their testimony around lists of distinguished, moderate Justices who dissented from the rulings Judge Bork was criticizing.

Contrariwise, many opponents focused not on specific cases but on broad patterns. For example, Shirley M. Hufstедler, a former Federal judge and Carter Administration official, said she found in Judge Bork's record "an effort to develop constitutional litmus tests to avoid his having to confront the grief and untidiness of the human condition." She added: "The spirit and the grandeur of the Constitution lies in its magnificent abstractions and its deliberate ambiguities."

The hearings might well have gone another route. If the opponents had permitted specific Constitutional controversies, such as abortion or affirmative action, to dominate the debate, the result could have been a series of minireferendums that they could easily have lost.

But the committee chairman, Joseph R. Biden Jr., conducting the hearings with good humor even as his Presidential bid collapsed, kept the focus on the theme of fundamental rights that he had outlined in his opening statement. "I believe all Americans are born with certain inalienable rights," whether or not the rights are spelled out in the text of the Constitution, the Delaware Democrat said. "My rights are because I exist."

Judge Bork might have blunted the force of this argument by paying at least token obeisance to the idea of fundamental rights beyond the bounds of original intent. But he chose not to. "If a judge abandons intention as his guide," he said, "there is no law available to him and he begins to legislate a social agenda for the American people. That goes well beyond his legitimate power. He or she diminishes liberty instead of enhancing it."

The World

Seeking a New Route To Economic Cooperation

By PETER T. KILBORN

WASHINGTON
THE Treasury Secretary, James A. Baker 3d, derides those who would belittle the President's capacity to pull any more rabbits from his hat, at least on matters of economics. Making his point in just five days, Mr. Baker, whose own innovative image had seemed to be fading along with Mr. Reagan's, has dramatically transformed the look of economic policy. It could be he has altered the content as well. An Administration whose pre-Baker Treasury preached belligerent indifference to the condition of others' economies, has now decreed a world of partnership.

Mr. Baker even raised the possibility of enforcing the multinational partnership with the help of a partial return to the gold exchange standard, a device that the Nixon Administration had buried and whose proponents had been widely regarded as eccentric. "The fact that he mentioned gold at all is of great significance," said Robert A. Mundell, a Columbia professor and an author of the system Mr. Baker could be moving toward. "There's been no discussion at all about gold for 15 years."

The latest step in the shift of Administration thinking began last Saturday. A rueful President Reagan, giving

in to Mr. Baker's pleas rather than those of Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, said in his weekly radio talk that he would sign deficit-cutting legislation. Mr. Reagan may thus be forced to swallow his promises to veto tax increases and military spending cuts.

The timing was typical of the Baker method. As the President spoke, Mr. Baker and the new chairman of the Federal Reserve, Alan Greenspan, were meeting with finance ministers and central bankers of six countries in the Treasury building. The President's acquiescence on the deficit meant Mr. Baker had kept a promise to the six — Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada — by attacking an agent of disruption in the world economy, the \$200 billion American budget deficits. It lent credence to a pact the countries thereupon announced to keep the dollar stable.

Three days later, the President appeared before the thousands of financial officials and private bankers here for World Bank and International Monetary Fund meetings. The delivery was pure Reagan, the themes pure Baker. For the first time since his economy became ensnared in deficits, the President could turn the tables on his accusers, notably Germany and Japan, and call on them "to find the political gumption" that he himself had marshaled in signing the deficit law.



Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d and President Reagan at the International Monetary Fund's annual meeting in Washington; at the podium is Barber B. Conable Jr., World Bank president.

Japan and Germany run enormous trade surpluses that are thought to harm the world economy as much as the ripple effects of American budget deficits, and the President maintains that they ought to build their prosperity less on selling abroad and more on encouraging their own consumers to buy domestic and foreign made goods. This is a lot to ask of people who, unlike Americans, are more inclined to save than shop. But at a time

of high unemployment in Europe and low inflation there and in Japan, it is probably sound economics. "There's plenty of room for them to raise their imports," said E. Robert Heller, a Federal Reserve governor.

The next day, Mr. Baker used the same platform to discuss the matter of the countries with \$1.2 trillion in foreign debts. Two years ago, he had stunned the same audience by announcing what became known as the "Baker Plan" — easing lending terms if debtors would adopt free-market, growth-oriented policies. An important part of his plan was expanded lending by the industrial world's banks, but the banks had rebuffed him.

Last week, Mr. Baker tried again, unveiling a wide variety of ways to make the lending more attractive, including relaxing some Federal regulations governing the loans. He also ordered that the I.M.F. ease its discipline over the debtors' economies, which often includes cuts in wages and in public spending. And he promised increased American contributions to some I.M.F.-World Bank programs, although proportionately less than the other rich countries have offered.

But it was the bit about gold that opened some eyes. Mr. Baker suggested that the United States and the other six industrial countries compile a set of commodity prices, including gold, to help measure changes in inflation rates. He said the gauge, or indicator, could become one of many that the seven countries already use in a Baker-originated process of economic collaboration. They study the gauges and try to agree upon ways to alter domestic economic policies for the good of the whole — as President Reagan did, however reluctantly, in approving the law to reduce the budget deficit.

To include the price of gold in a gauge that includes prices of commodities such as steel, oil and wheat, and using the gauge as just one of many in coordinating economic policies, does not put the country back on the gold standard or anything similar. Governments adopting the gold standard relinquish discretion over their economies. No one seems interested in going that far.

But the policymakers do seem fed up with the environment that prevailed from the early 1970's until 1985 when exchange rates of currencies were left to "float" freely in the markets. Interest rates, inflation and the American budget deficit all soared. "The floating rate system," says French Finance Minister Edouard Balladur with a soupçon of Gallic hyperbole, "has been disastrous and is behind all the evils we have seen in the West."

Whether Mr. Baker has something more in mind for gold is his secret. "He takes things incrementally, in little steps," said a banker who knows him well. "It's easier to take them if he doesn't talk about them."

Challenge From the Chief Ideologist

Without Gorbachev, Glasnost Pauses

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

MOSCOW
IF there was any doubt left in the Soviet Union or the West about Mikhail S. Gorbachev's singular role in changing Soviet society, it was put to rest last week. Mr. Gorbachev's reappearance in public after a 52-day absence not only scotched wildly erroneous speculation about his health — he looked rested and fit — but also made clear that he alone has the standing and force of personality to move the country.

The contrast between his prolonged absence and reappearance made the point in a way no other development had. While Mr. Gorbachev was vacationing in the Crimea — he said he was also working on a book — there was no visible champion of the changes set in motion in the last two years to loosen rigid Government control of economic and social life. If anything, there was some effort to roll them back, encouraged by the No. 2 party leader, Yegor K. Ligachev. As soon as Mr. Gorbachev materialized, the campaign for change was back on the front page and back at the top of the prime-time television news.

The swing in atmosphere seemed to underscore the fragility of the changes made so far, and the vital need for Mr. Gorbachev to keep opponents from seizing the initiative. Despite his contention that "there is no political opposition," Mr. Gorbachev's program of perestroika, or restructuring, has sent shock waves through the country, producing an inevitable backlash. As he heads into a busy autumn juggling major domestic and foreign initiatives, including an expected meeting with President Reagan later this year in Washington, the Soviet leader must keep moving ahead.

With the exception of issues like migration and the treatment of dissidents, which resonate loudly in the West, most of Mr. Gorbachev's program is unlikely to be influenced by pre-summit considerations. The pace will be determined by domestic factors. The next major way station is likely to be a special party meeting next June, which Mr. Gorbachev clearly hopes will give his program new impetus.

Since he joined the Politburo in April 1985, a month after Mr. Gorbachev took power, Mr. Ligachev has gained a reputation as a potential rival to Mr. Gorbachev and an advocate of a more cautious approach to change. He is a plain-speaking man who is 11 years older than Mr. Gorbachev and politically unbeloved to him. He rose to power from posts as an industrial manager and party leader in western Siberia; he was brought to Moscow in 1983 by former Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov to be a Central Committee secretary.

His later appointment to the Politburo is assumed to have been part of a deal to balance the leadership. As the party's chief ideologist, he may be playing an assigned role to keep change consistent with socialist principles and assuage hardliners.

A Conservative Outlook

Although seen as carefully positioning himself to succeed Mr. Gorbachev if trouble develops, few analysts think he is actively pushing to move up. Mr. Ligachev has repeatedly called for restraint in the press and literature. "Don't be in such a hurry to publish everything from our past," Mr. Ligachev recently told a conference of journalists, according to Vitaly A. Korotich, the editor of Ogonyok, a weekly general-interest magazine. Mr. Korotich, an exuberant man with a passion for glasnost, or openness, said in an interview last week that the mes-

sage from Mr. Ligachev and other party officials was to publish more articles extolling the achievements of socialism as the country approaches the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution on Nov. 7.

Mr. Ligachev reflects a conservative outlook common among Russians that fuels the resistance to Mr. Gorbachev and his agenda. He speaks for many when he says the unearthing of historical failures, the questioning of authority and the loss of traditional values, if carried too far, constitute a form of nihilism that threatens the stability of Soviet society. Such attitudes seem to underlie the institutional and bureaucratic resistance that has slowed change across the board. There is an abhorrence of pluralism and delegated authority, born of the country's authoritarian history both before and after the revolution. It is much easier for plant managers to follow detailed instructions from Moscow than to make independent decisions, it is safer for bureaucrats to say no than to be flexible.

For the moment, however, Mr. Gorbachev has few inducements to offer a population that is feeling the pressure not just to change but to work harder. The promised payoff for perestroika and glasnost is a more productive and efficient economy, particularly more plentiful consumer goods and services. So far they are absent, and even the widely publicized program to encourage individual labor has fallen flat because local government agencies are slow to handle applications and taxes threaten to limit profits. Until benefits start to appear, all Mr. Gorbachev has to offer is a more interesting intel-



Yegor K. Ligachev, the Communist Party's chief ideologist.

tual climate. Public opinion polling, although considered far from a science here, shows extensive public impatience and worker dissatisfaction.

It is difficult to know how these attitudes play out in some of the key power centers like the military and the K.G.B. Mathias Rust's landing near Red Square gave Mr. Gorbachev an excuse to appoint a kindred spirit, Gen. Dmitri T. Yazov, as Defense Minister. The military brass, despite some protocol snubs and Mr. Gorbachev's insistence that defense spending be contained, seems politically inert at the moment. The head of the K.G.B., Viktor M. Chebrikov, recently delivered an old-style harangue, warning that Western intelligence services were trying to inflame "the virus of nationalism" here.

Mr. Gorbachev, as he toured Murmansk last week, spoke of his program as a "revolution without shots," asking citizens to be patient and calm. "You have to keep yourselves in check, comrades, and you must not panic," he said.

Karl Who?

East's 'Garbage Can' Economies Get a Whiff of Capitalism

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

WARSAW
TO hear Eastern Europeans tell it, you would almost think that Frederick Hayek and Milton Friedman had dislodged Marx and Engels as the fathers of socialist economics.

The National Assembly of Hungary recently approved the sort of Western-style economic measures that would warm the heart of a conservative economist — an income tax of 20 to 60 percent and East Europe's first value-added tax, as well as removal of controls on some prices. In Poland, the newspapers discussed even more drastic moves: Jozef Kalita, a Communist economist, published 72 principles proposing the overhaul of the banking system, free trade in foreign exchange and the introduction of a broad-scale capital market. In Czechoslovakia, the Government of Gustav Husak, which came to power 19 years ago essentially to strangle innovation, was declaring itself pro-reform. And even strait Bulgaria has ordered economic revisions amid talk of creating tariff-free zones and abolishing the all-powerful state planning commission.

Many of the ideas had been under discussion for years, but the spark was fanned by winds from the Soviet Union, where Mikhail S. Gorbachev is pressing for economic results. The East Europeans are arguably as much in need of house cleaning as the Soviet Union. After more than 40 years of Communist power, erosion and laissez-faire have taken their toll. Telephone and transport systems are decaying, housing is deteriorating and mountains of foreign debt discourage fresh investment. The widening industrial gap with the West is manifest in slushy products that prompted Mr. Gorbachev, on a visit to Rumania in May, to allude to the East European economies as "a garbage can."

The attention to Western-style solutions

grows from a perception that soft currencies, and high inflation rates are eroding living standards and clouding understanding of which parts of the economy are working and which are not. Lack of convertible currencies, meanwhile, is viewed increasingly as the major obstacle to vigorous trade.

In parliamentary democracies, such governments would probably have been long gone. But in Eastern Europe, the dynamics of Communist rule and the unshaken tenet of the party's leading role have reinforced stagnation. The leaders, except for Mr. Gorbachev and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland, belong to an older generation that finds changing values painful. Years of reliance on central planning have produced timidity and panic at the prospect of market forces in action.

It shows up in small ways. In Katowice, in southern Poland, the recent lifting of price controls led farmers to push through a 120 percent increase in sour cream prices. In the West, consumer resistance would soon have forced prices down. Not so in Katowice. Panicky Government economists, fearful of public outcry, intervened; the Prime Minister's office in Warsaw ordered the increase reduced to 10 percent.

Sapping Morale of Workers

Part of the reason for this sort of action is the social contract dating to World War II that translated into the forfeiture of political freedoms in return for economic concessions such as full employment and subsidized housing, medical care and basic foodstuffs. These are zones of sensitivity, and many older leaders fear rupturing the contract while their economies remain unable to supply basic amenities common in the West.

This raises a question that has serious implications throughout Eastern Europe. In Britain, France and West Germany, red banners, strikes and factory sit-ins have contested changes by conservative governments

that meant higher unemployment. But in Eastern Europe, with no outlet for labor unrest, austerity has produced what a Polish church leader in industrial Silesia recently described as a kind of "homelessness among workers in their own places of work" — sapping morale just when the economies need their creative involvement.

Moreover, there is little enthusiasm for change in East Germany, where a tireless work ethic and payments from the West German Government have assured a measure of prosperity, or Rumania, which is under the tight grip of the Ceausescu clan.

There are, to be sure, signs of change. The Hungarian measures were enacted only after heated debate in a National Assembly that had been a rubber stamp for nearly 30 years until multi-candidate elections in 1985. In unaccustomed terms, Prime Minister Karoly Grosz said the Hungarian Government had accepted dialogue with dissidents who "call our attention to very real problems."

In Poland, the Government blocks efforts to revive Solidarity, the independent union crushed by General Jaruzelski's martial law. But the general's No. 2 man, Politburo member Jozef Czerwinski, has been quietly meeting with lay Catholic leaders to seek ways to break the labor logjam. And the Government has granted permission for the establishment of a kind of chamber of commerce in Cracow for the emerging class of private businessmen. A similar organization is planned in Warsaw.

Still, the feeling is that time is running short. Major investments are needed for industrial renewal, environmental protection and rebuilding badly decayed transportation and communication systems, while many leaders persist in glancing eastward toward Mr. Gorbachev, as if unsure whether to lead or wait to be led. "They are still waiting for light from the East," a prominent Polish dissident said. "Unfortunately, the time for waiting is running out."

In Poland Bush Nudges And Poses as His Cameras Roll

WARSAW
VICE PRESIDENT BUSH visited Poland last week, bringing gifts to encourage economic and political change and camera crews to record his trip for possible showing in his campaign for the Presidency.

Polish authorities complained that the gifts were too meager and attached to too many strings. But there were indications that ties between Washington and Warsaw were warmer than they had been since December 1981, when Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski called out his army to crack the Solidarity union.

Mr. Bush irritated the Jaruzelski Government by meeting with Lech Walesa, Solidarity's founder, and praising the outlawed union. Both sides agreed to exchange ambassadors soon, however, resuming ties suspended during martial law. The Vice President signed an accord on scientific and technological cooperation, and Washington promised support in the Paris talks affecting two-thirds of Poland's \$35 billion foreign debt.

In an uncensored television talk, Mr. Bush promised still more favors if Warsaw moves toward economic and political openings such as "self-governing organizations" for workers. He added that he was glad Poland "has come out of a very difficult time, and that things are moving forward."

The Government insisted it needs American support for loans from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and that



Vice President Bush with Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, in Warsaw.

Washington was being inconsistent and interfering in Poland's internal affairs by nudging Warsaw toward further reforms. The Government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, insisted that Poland was adamantly opposed to "resurrecting the long dead political structures of 1980 and 1981," the Solidarity era.

Mr. Bush then flew to Bonn, Paris, London and Brussels, to discuss the proposed treaty on medium- and short-range nuclear missiles and reaffirm the American commitment to Western Europe.

Shevardnadze Pays a Friendly Call

Soviet Courts South America With an Eye for Trade

By MARLISE SIMONS

A SHIFT of focus has appeared in Moscow's relations with Latin America. The Soviet Union has begun chafing its close friends in Cuba and Nicaragua and has taken up wooing such casual acquaintances as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico.

Last week, it demonstrated that, at least in this American-dominated region, its new foreign policy appears to be driven as much by economics as by ideology. On a tour of Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze visited leaders of countries that until recently were governed by passionately anti-Communist regimes.

These "new democracies" offered fresh political opportunities, but much of the talking had to do with trade and joint ventures. During his talks in Brazil, Mr. Shevardnadze emphasized to his hosts that Moscow was not seeking to disturb the region's traditionally close relations with the United States. But he seemed to enjoy reminding audiences that while Washington has faulted the new Central American peace plan, Moscow had immediately joined most Latin American countries in endorsing it.

At the same time, in the Caribbean Basin, the Soviet Union has started to apply economic tests to its relations with Cuba and Nicaragua and the results have been somewhat surprising. It has launched a critical review of the way millions of dollars of Soviet aid have been used by these two countries, which the West regards as client states. According to Cuban government sources, it is anything but happy with the waste and mismanagement it has found.

For instance, the sources said that when Moscow learned that Nicaragua had resold some oil provided by the Soviet bloc without authorization, it warned the Sandinista Government last June that all oil supplies might be cut off. Soviet unhappiness even surfaced in a recent article in Pravda noting that "not everything is running smoothly" with the "considerable aid" to Cuba.

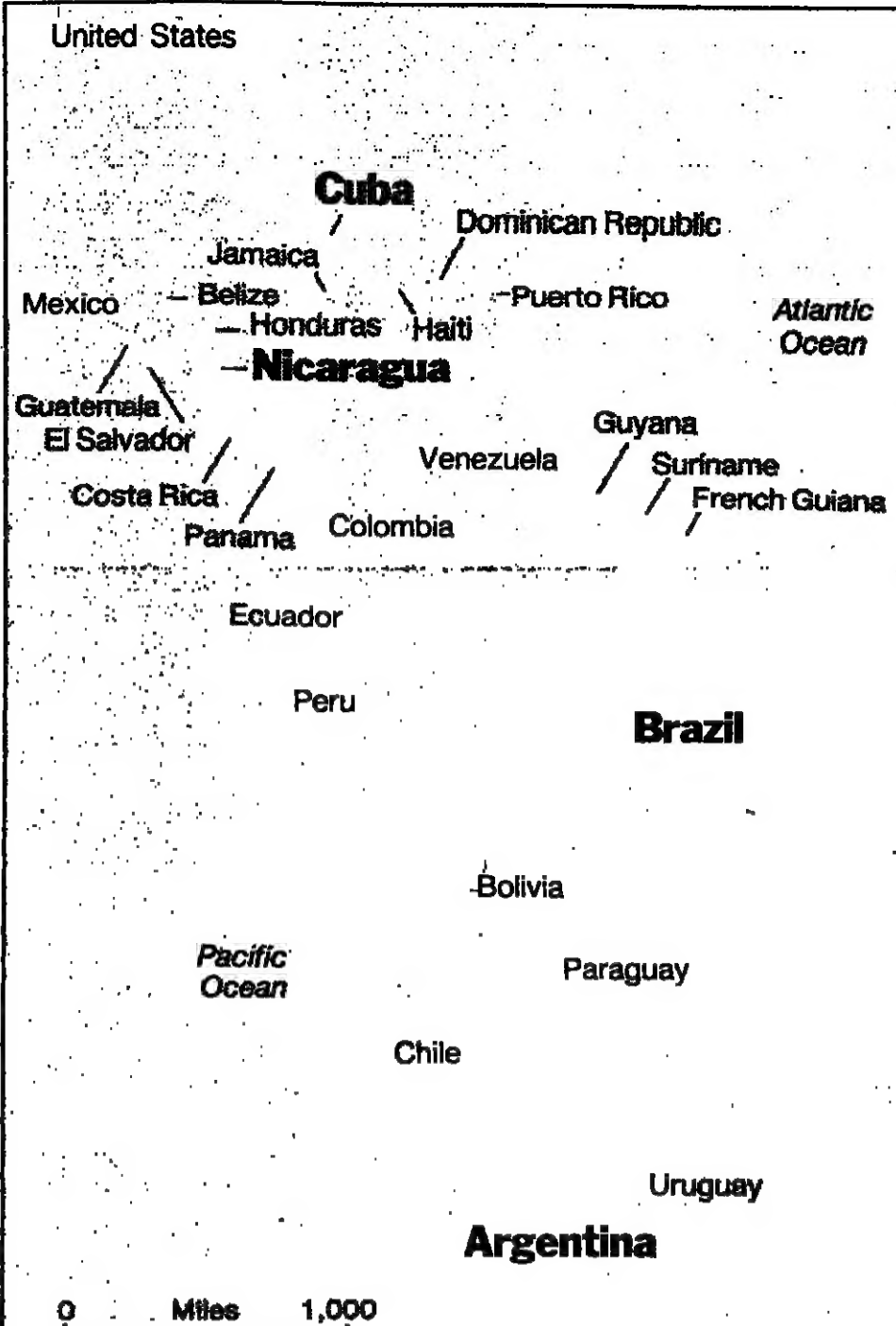
The article cited construction of a nickel complex at Moa Bay that "is now in its tenth year" because of faulty Soviet design and defective equipment and Cuban timewasting. Cuban and Nicaraguan officials have, in turn, been heard to complain about the poor quality of Soviet goods and the endless wait for spare parts. Now there has been some irritation about the meddling of the new Soviet taskmasters, sources close to the Cubans said.

Moscow's search for new — and less costly — friends in Latin America, however, is not seen as an alternative to its ties with Cuba and Nicaragua or a change in its more active relationships with Argentina, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela and Ecuador. Rather, according to Western diplomats, Mr. Shevardnadze's current trip — and even a possible trip to the region by the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev — are the result of several years of gradual rapprochement.

Quietly, Moscow has expanded its presence in Latin America through increased numbers of Soviet trade offices, airline routes, diplomats, technicians, journalists and academics. One particular success is that, since 1981, the number of Latin American youths studying on scholarships in the Soviet Union has doubled to more than 10,000 a year.

The Reagan Administration has been watching the Shevardnadze trip with some suspicion. "The military would not have brooked for this," said an American official in Washington, referring to the former governments of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. "The Soviets are taking advantage of the new openness."

Latin Americans were struck by what they saw as the Soviet Union's new openness. "They are more willing to accommodate," said a Brazilian involved in the writing of a final joint communiqué. "Or at least they are listening, which they did not in the past."



Nicaragua

Perhaps most prominent on Mr. Shevardnadze's itinerary was a country in which he did not appear, Nicaragua. With the new Soviet emphasis on trade over ideology, Nicaragua has little to offer Moscow except solidarity. Soviet bloc grants and credits to Nicaragua are the mainstay of the Sandinista Government.

But the Russians have expressed growing frustration with what they perceive as poor management and deep inefficiencies in the Nicaraguan economy, and have complained that some of their aid is being wasted. They have limited their donations of oil, and are pressing the Sandinistas to improve their ties to Latin American and Western European governments. The Russians do not seem to care if the Sandinistas have to moderate their domestic policies in order to win the support of those governments. The military aid which Nicaragua receives from Soviet bloc countries is every bit as important as its economic aid. The Nicaraguan armed forces are the most powerful, by far, in Central America, and are equipped largely by the Soviet Union, which has provided more than 100 tanks and more than 30 combat helicopters.

Fighting a guerrilla insurgency financed by the United States, the Sandinistas rely on East German trucks, Soviet helicopters and North Korean rifles. The Soviet Union has not moved overtly to build a strategic base in Nicaragua, however, and has steadfastly refused to sell jet fighters to the Sandinistas.

Cuba

Cuba is the Soviet Union's principal outpost in Latin America. At more than \$12 million a day, the island is the largest recipient of Soviet aid in the world and maintains one of the largest armed forces in the region, comparable to that of Brazil, which has 10 times more than Cuba's 10 million people. The Cuban armed forces have more than 160,000 active-duty personnel, equipped by the Soviet Union.

The Russians also use Cuba as a base for military and intelligence activities. Fidel Castro has always made a great show of his independence and the Russians have done little publicly to contradict him. But critics say that Mr. Castro's soldiers and technicians are Moscow's surrogates in Africa and Latin America, encouraging revolutions and supplying arms and advisers.

Generally, Mr. Castro does not criticize Moscow, and the Kremlin remains mostly silent on him. The new currents of openness in the Soviet Union have not been widely publicized in Cuba, but Soviet periodicals sell out quickly in Havana.

Argentina

Relations between Moscow and Buenos Aires, dating back to 1946, meant little until 1980, when Washington declared a wheat embargo in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Relations have been very close since. Quickly, the Communist countries turned into great customers for Argentine grains. Ironically, the same military junta that fought its "dirty war" against "Communist subversion" — killing close to 10,000 people — exported as much as \$2.9 billion worth of goods to Soviet markets in 1981. Moscow is building a new embassy and keeps a large trade center in Buenos Aires and cultural centers in other cities. It has an airline route and rights to fish in Argentine waters. Moscow would like to step up trade again. It has sold Argentina the nuclear fuel and services that Western nations, bound by treaty, refused. Argentina also buys Russian turbines for its dams and equipment for its railroads. Argentina sells beef, and the Soviet Union has wanted to make significant military sales, including planes, as it has done in Peru.

Brazil

In Brazil, Latin America's largest economy, Moscow last week got the economic and cultural agreements it has long sought. It was an intense trade relationship of the kind it has with India. Moscow sells auto parts to Brazil and has shown interest in its computer industry. It would like landing rights for Aeroflot and to expand its trade offices in Brazil.

For the first time, major joint ventures with Comecon countries are on the drawing board and reportedly almost ready for signing. These include a large iron-manganese plant in the Amazon basin, for which the Soviet Union will provide \$60 million worth of equipment in exchange for half the plant's annual output of 150,000 tons.

After pressing for more than four years, Moscow obtained the cultural accord that will allow for more exchanges of professors, students, films and literature. At the United Nations, Soviet diplomats try to enlist Brazil's backing for Soviet proposals because of its weighty voice in Latin America.

The Reopening of La Prensa

The Chamorros: Nicaragua's Remarkable Press Family

By STEPHEN KINZER

WITH the reopening of the opposition newspaper La Prensa last week, Nicaragua regained one of its most celebrated institutions, and the remarkable Chamorro family once again stepped to the forefront of national life. Both the newspaper and the family have become icons of Nicaraguan history, and both are certain to play important roles as the country advances tentatively toward liberalization under provisions of the new Central American peace accord, to go into effect Nov. 7.

No matter whether the victors in the current struggle are the Sandinistas, the political opposition, or the United States-backed contra guerrillas, the Chamorros seem assured of remaining prominent and influential. Until the late 1970's, La Prensa was simply a rather ordinary newspaper that supported the party out of power. But, as the Somoza family dictatorship tightened its rule, the editor of La Prensa, Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal, became the country's most outspoken opposition figure. When he was assassinated in January 1978, many Nicaraguans presumed that the gunmen were Somoza agents. The assassination moved many who had been neutral to join a national rebellion that toppled the dictatorship and brought the Sandinista Front to power. Today, Mr. Chamorro's widow, his brothers, sisters and in-laws, and his sons and daughters are spread across the political spectrum. Nearly all decorate their offices with photos of the slain publisher, and all claim to be inspired by his legacy.

La Prensa took an increasingly anti-Sandinista stand in the years following the 1979 revolution; start-



Violeta Chamorro holds up first issue of La Prensa, published again last week after suspension of more than a year.

ing in 1982 it was subjected to prior censorship. It was shut down by Government order in June 1986 following a Congressional vote in Washington favoring renewed American aid to the contras. The Government did not give a specific reason for the closing, but it had accused the paper of favoring the contras. The senior editor, Jaime Chamorro Cardenal, brother of Pedro, left Nicaragua.

Last week, Jaime Chamorro re-

turned, but he said he had not much real hope. He doubted that the Sandinistas, whom he perceives as dictatorial, would actually allow genuine press freedom.

The author of the new peace accord, President Oscar Arias Sánchez of Costa Rica, has predicted that the Sandinistas will have great difficulty maintaining power if they fully comply with their obligations to permit freedom of expression. "The lesson

of history could not be more clear," Mr. Arias said in an interview in August. "No Marxist regime can survive with a free press." The Chamorros who are publishing La Prensa are only one group in the family. Jaime Chamorro's brother, Xavier, edits the pro-Government daily Nuevo Diario, which is published about 100 yards from La Prensa's plant. Across town, one of their relatives edits the official Sandinista

daily paper, Barricada. Another nephew lives in Costa Rica, publishes the exiled weekly Nicaragua Hoy, and is a senior contra leader. For some time, it has seemed that there was not enough room in Sandinista Nicaragua for all the Chamorros. But President Daniel Ortega Saavedra says that if other Central American countries live up to the peace accord, which requires them to stop aiding the contras, he is

willing to lift all restrictions on the Nicaraguan press.

The peace accord requires all countries in the region to allow "complete freedom for television, radio and press," and Mr. Ortega is already being pressed by those who believe he is not complying quickly enough. He has allowed the reopening of La Prensa and the Roman Catholic radio station, but opposition leaders are demanding that he authorize the return of more than 20 radio news programs closed in 1982, some run by journalists now in exile supporting the contras.

Even more far-reaching is the prospect that for the first time since the Sandinista takeover, there could be a television station controlled by the opposition. The country's principal business coalition, which is militantly anti-Sandinista, has applied for a television license, and its leaders are acting as though they expect their application to be granted.

It is still uncertain whether the Government will impose any limits on press freedom. The head of the pro-Sandinista Journalists' Union, Lily Soto, disconcerted some of her colleagues with a proposal that the Interior Ministry, the Cultural Ministry and other agencies name a committee to review publications and broadcasts. And Xavier Chamorro, the editor of Nuevo Diario, said he hoped the newly reopened La Prensa would exercise responsible opposition. "If it indulges in personal attacks or says the statue of the Virgin is sweating because God doesn't like the revolution," he said, "that is not responsible or serious." On Thursday, the first edition of the revived paper started firing at once, in a front-page editorial: "La Prensa today tells the Sandinista Front that Nicaraguans have never wanted and do not want a Communist-style totalitarian dictatorship."

The Nation

California Tries Caring For Its Growing Ranks Of Latchkey Children

By ROBERT REINHOLD

EVERY evening at about 5, regular as the fog that rolls in over this blue-collar suburb south of San Francisco, working parents descend on the Sharp Park Children's Center.

Cheryl Chodrick, recently divorced, collects her 6-year-old, Stephanie, whom she deposited 10 hours earlier on her way to work in San Francisco. Robert Delicino, a house painter, comes to get Regina, 6; his wife, on her way to work as a cashier for an automobile dealer, drops Regina off before school.

The center is evidence that after years of talk and handwringing, the states are finally starting to do something about the growing number of latchkey children, school-age youngsters who lack adult supervision part of the day because of such modern American realities as divorce, unwed motherhood and the two-career family. California is the acknowledged leader, but its year-old program so far serves only 14,000 of the state's estimated 800,000 latchkey children.

Nationally, the number of such children has been estimated variously from 2 million to 10 million, depending on the definition. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, nearly two-thirds of all mothers are in the work force at least part-time; among mothers whose youngest child is between 6 and 13 years old, nearly three-quarters work.

In a national poll by Louis Harris and Associates released last month, 51 percent of the 1,000 teachers interviewed said that lack of after-school supervision was the primary cause of poor school performance and 41 percent of the 2,000 parents said their children were often unsupervised after school. The

pollsters said that the problem cut across rural, urban and suburban boundaries and all income groups. In fact, a Census Bureau study found that white upper-income children were more likely to be thrown on their own, perhaps because of a lack of extended family or of a belief that their homes and neighborhoods were relatively safe.

Still, after-school isolation often means anxiety for both parent and child. Employers often say that productivity drops markedly after 3 P.M., when parents start to receive calls from their children at home, and studies have found that child-rearing problems contribute substantially to absenteeism and turnover. Of companies with more than 100 employees, more than 2,500 offer some kind of child-care assistance, a sharp increase from the 110 that did so in 1978 but a small portion of the 44,000 companies nationwide.

Under the pioneering California program, the state pays a total of \$16 million a year to local school districts, parks departments or nonprofit agencies that win contracts to provide care. The centers offer arts and crafts, homework help, games and sports; they transport the children to and from school, and take them on field trips in the summer.

Many parents say that, as the state legislature intended, the program has given them the chance for training so they can get off welfare or increase their income. For example, the state subsidized care for 6-year-old Stephanie Smith while her mother Susan, a single parent, learned job skills. Now a file clerk with a law firm, Ms. Smith still has an income well below the state median, so she pays only \$6.50 a week for Stephanie's care.

The original bill required that half the children come from low-income families, who pay on a sliding scale depending on income, and half from middle-class families who



Youngsters after school at the Sharp Park Children's Center in Pacifica, Calif.

would pay the full fees — \$70 a week here in Pacifica for summertime care, \$40 during the school year. Many centers, especially those in low-income neighborhoods, found it difficult to attract enough children paying full fees; last week, Gov. George Deukmejian signed a measure easing the requirement.

The demand is clear in Pacifica, where the Parks, Beaches and Recreation Department runs four sites serving 400 school-age children. David F. Martin, the program director, says 310 more are on the waiting list.

Given the scarcity of spaces under the state program, many localities have been looking for alternatives. In Lawndale, in Los Angeles County, a local partnership has mounted a program expected to take care of

all the child-care needs. The school district provides the sites, janitorial services and liability insurance; the city provides parks, summer staff and transportation; the local United Way has organized the project and developed scholarships for those who could not afford the fees. It serves children from kindergarten to 8th grade every day until 6 P.M. at a cost of \$40 a month per family, one-fourth that of the state program.

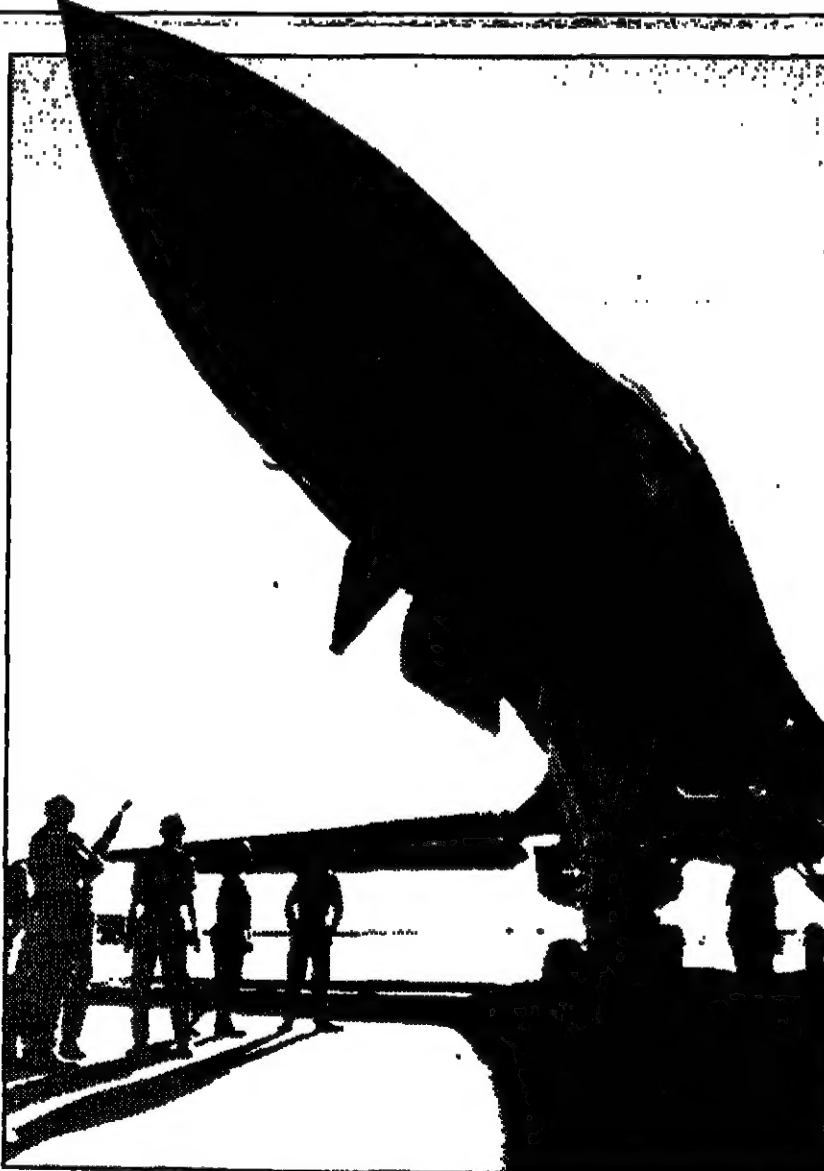
Taking another tack, San Francisco is requiring that new companies either provide on-site child care or pay into a municipal fund that will provide centers.

Other states are acting, too. The Indiana legislature recently appropriated \$400,000, from a new state cigarette tax, to subsidize

care for about 4,000 youngsters from low-income families. New York State last year spent \$600,000 to help start up centers that now care for 8,600 children statewide, with families paying for the week-to-week costs. Just a few weeks ago, Governor Kean of New Jersey signed a \$500,000 bill to begin a latchkey program in that state. And Massachusetts sold thousands of tickets when it offered child-care subsidies as a lottery prize.

"Communities have changed and families have changed and our attitudes finally are collectively changing," said Michelle Seligson, director of the Schoolage Childcare Project at Wellesley College. But millions of children across the country still come home daily to empty houses.

Fatal Crash in Colorado



The B-1B bomber: What it can do

Role

Long-range, heavy strategic bomber intended to penetrate deep into the Soviet Union by flying fast and low to avoid radar

Speed

Almost the speed of sound at altitudes as low as 200 feet
Low supersonic at higher altitude

Range (unrefueled)

7,455 miles

Dimensions

Span: 137 feet with wings extended
Length: 145.8 feet
Height: 34 feet

Maximum take-off weight

477,000 pounds

Engines

Four General Electric F101-GE-102 turbofan engines

Crew

Four, with room for two passengers

Payload

Internally: 24 gravity-drop nuclear bombs or short-range nuclear missiles, OR up to 84 500-pound nonnuclear bombs
Externally: under fuselage, an additional 14 short-range missiles OR 14 nuclear bombs OR 44 500-pound conventional bombs

Plane can also be reconfigured to carry long-range cruise missiles internally or externally

Number delivered by Rockwell International

69, with 31 more on order, at about \$200 million per plane in 1981 dollars

Bases where planes are on alert

Ellsworth Air Force Base in South Dakota
Dyess Air Force Base in Texas

Records

Holds 36 world records for speed, payload and distance

Source: U.S. Air Force

Picture Group/Charlie Cole

New Setback for a Costly Bomber

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

WHEN news first reached the Pentagon on Monday that a B-1B bomber had crashed in Colorado on a low-level training flight, officials could not help but suspect the worst.

Compounding the concern over the loss of life (three of the six-man crew died) was dismay at the loss of the immense bomber itself (each costs about \$200 million). But program managers had a more far-reaching fear: that one of the plane's electronic flight control systems, long criticized as ineffective, had failed and caused the crash.

To its relief, the Air Force learned quickly that neither the terrain-following radar, which is supposed to allow the airplane to fly very fast as close as 200 feet to the ground, nor the stall inhibitor system, which is meant to prevent loss of lift during tricky flight maneuvers, was implicated.

Instead, the crash was evidently caused when the plane sucked some birds into its

huge engine inlets, overstressing its spinning jet turbines. Two engines lost power, and one of them caught fire, bringing the plane down.

There is nothing unusual about low-flying aircraft striking birds — aviation authorities report more than a thousand incidents annually — and the results are not often disastrous, even for the military aircraft that regularly fly at high speeds and low altitudes over wilderness areas. On the same day as the crash, another B-1B bomber flying from Dyess Air Force Base in Texas struck one bird, which cracked the cover on a radar set but did little other damage. But the downed B-1B had apparently plowed through a whole flock; according to Air Force officials, the last radio transmission from the crew reported "multiple bird strikes."

Because its planes fly so much faster than most civilian aircraft, which increases the force of any strike, the Air Force has a harder task in trying to design aircraft that can survive bird collisions. It has gone so far as to build a contraption at one laboratory that can hurl bird carcasses or other objects at aircraft canopies. At the University of

Dayton Research Institute, a computer program can tell the Air Force Aeronautical Propulsion Laboratory exactly how big a bird various aircraft engines can swallow under varying flight conditions.

But the military has had to accept that some losses to bird strikes are inevitable.

Dave North, a former Air Force pilot who is a reporter for Aviation Week & Space Technology magazine, said that when he flew a B-1B for a recent review of the plane, "I did see some birds — but if you're going .87 on a track you can't do a lot of jiggling and jaggling to avoid birds." "Going .87" means the plane was traveling a little less than the speed of sound, which is about 1,088 feet per second.

By and large, said Mr. North, the much-criticized bomber flew very well. "It handles much like a fighter down low," he said. "It surprises you that there is 130 feet of aircraft behind you."

One lingering question about the crash is why only three crewmen survived. The bomber is equipped with four ejection seats, and other crewmen are trained in bailing out during emergencies.

Waiting at the White House

For Now, Quiet on Iran-Contra Front

By JOEL BRINKLEY

EVERY once in a while, President Reagan's aides suggest that, on a particular controversy, it would be best if he just kept quiet. That was the view for months in the heat of the Iran-contra affair. Once, the President even pleaded laryngitis to avoid answering reporters' questions.

But sometimes, a White House official said, "you can just tell from the set of his jaw that he doesn't agree" with the advice. And so it went last week.

This was one of the times to keep quiet, White House officials decided after being briefed in advance on allegations in Bob Woodward's new book, "Veil: The Secret Wars of the C.I.A., 1981-1987." The book describes aggressive covert activities promoted by William J. Casey as Director of Central Intelligence and says that some operations went "off the books," including an attempt to kill a leader of Hezbollah, the militant Moslem faction. The book also says that Mr. Casey, near the time of his death, "nodded yes" when asked if he knew that profits from American arms sales to Iran were diverted to the Nicaraguan contras.

On Sunday, right after The Washington Post came out with the first of a series of excerpts from the book, Sophia Casey said that the account of a deathbed interview with her husband was "a lie." There were some questions and few answers at White House briefings. By mid-week a White House official was saying, "If there's any real concern over here, I can't sense it. . . . It's not a hot topic."

Then on Wednesday, in answer to a shouted question at a photo session, Mr. Reagan replied: "I think there's an awful lot of fiction about a man who was unable to communicate at all and is now being quoted as if he were doing nothing but talking his head off." He said he had authorized counterterrorism units in Lebanon but that "I never have, and I never will, and I didn't" sign anything authorizing an assassination. (The book did not say he had.) Asked if Mr. Casey had carried out any covert activities without his knowledge, Mr. Reagan offered an undeniably accurate response: "Not that I know of." The story was kept alive for a couple of days longer.

The Administration has tried before to brush off the whole Iran-contra affair as a dead issue, most notably after the Tower Commission report was issued in late February. The issue kept re-animating, preoccupying the White House for much of

the year. Now no one there even talks about it anymore.

Almost all President's senior aides came on board after the scandal broke. They are not implicated, and want to move forward, making names for themselves and for Mr. Reagan in the 15 months before his Presidency draws to a close. The national security adviser, Frank Carlucci, was asked about the Woodward book Thursday in a long-scheduled interview with the Mutual Broadcasting System. Noting that he "was not in government at the time" of most events in the book, he emphasized that "we have instituted processes for the review which are ironclad," so "any renegade operation, so to speak, would be totally out of the question at this point."

The White House still must weather the indictments which will probably be obtained by the Iran-contra special prosecutor before year's end. But it has done its best to separate itself from the most probable targets, the former national security adviser, Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter, and his aide, Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North, who could be charged with obstruction of justice and conspiracy.

In addition, the Congressional committees' report on the affair will be published in a few weeks. A draft will be sent to the White House later this month for a security review. Two Republican members of the House Iran-contra committee complained last week that the draft report implied Mr. Reagan knew of the diversion of profits; they promised their own version.

It is indisputable that the Iran-contra affair damaged the White House, weakening the President's standing with Congress and the American people. But the Administration's view today is that further damage is unlikely. Of the Congressional report, a senior White House official predicted that it will present "a short term P.R. problem. That's all."



William J. Casey

Hold the Borscht, Here Comes Mort Sahl

Arts & Leisure

Now that Jackie Mason has paved the way, the satirist is welcome on Broadway.

By PETER J. BOYER

Mort Sahl, a satirist rooted in the comedy clubs of the urban hip, has worked the Borscht-Belt only once — and that time was a disaster. There was a police convention in the house, and just as he got rolling on his Richard Nixon jokes, the officers stood up and started singing "God Bless America."

But now, in a way, the Borscht Belt has made amends.

After trying vainly for five years to interest a Broadway producer in his one-man show, Mr. Sahl finally got a bite from James Nederlander, who booked Mr. Sahl into his Neil Simon Theater, where "Mort Sahl on Broadway" opens next Sunday.

Mr. Sahl is convinced that he owes his Broadway opportunity to Jackie Mason, a prince of the Catskills whose Tony-winning one-man act, "The World According to Me," has been such a phenomenal success that it made Mr. Sahl's long-resisted proposal suddenly seem a reasonable risk. "The Mason thing, there's no doubt about it, that gave them the courage," Mr. Sahl says. "I've been trying to get this show here for a long time, but Nederlander's guard must have been down because of the Mason success."

Mr. Mason, too, credits Mr. Sahl's engagement to his own success, and he notes the irony of the Borscht Belt stand-up having paved the way for the intellectual jester. "It's unbelievably ironic, it's ironic to the point of being ridiculous," Mr. Mason says, imitating, "that Mort Sahl, a guy who belongs on Broadway, couldn't get there, and the guy who doesn't belong on Broadway, me, has to be a hit to get him there. They'd have never taken a shot on Mort without me."

Actually, Mr. Sahl played Broadway 30 years ago, the young, acid-witted saloon talker about whom Brooks Atkinson of The New York Times wrote, "Name anything that is current in intellectual society and Mr.



Longtime comedian Mort Sahl ponders a puzzling world. One thing that's changed—his audience. Now, he says, they share his outrage.

Sahl can make it look either bogus or hopeless." Three decades later, the act (as the man) is essentially the same; only the perspective has changed. Mr. Sahl used to ask his audience, "Is there anyone I haven't offended yet?" Now, he says, in the post-Vietnam, post-Watergate, post-Iran/contras world, his outrage is shared by the audience. "The things that used to be known as my aberrations and my obsessions have happened to all of them now, from Watergate to Iran. We're all inmates here now."

So, Mr. Sahl says, an evening with Mort Sahl will now seem less like an act of social contrition. "One of the things that has changed is that instead of being a kind of hard guy to take, but it's good for you — he's noble and he's on the right side and

he's virtuous — they like me a lot of the time. I never lied to them. They like me now, and so I can get away with a lot more."

But the man who skewered like and Nixon says he isn't in New York to do "Mort Sahl's Greatest Hits," popular roasts from the past, although he suspects that's what some of his liberal urban audience might expect of his Broadway show. "The liberals are ready to elect Bill Bradley and invade Nicaragua under his leadership," Mr. Sahl says, warming up to a favorite topic, "so they want me to make them feel better about it. How do I make them feel better? I talk to them about Nixon? I won't let them off the hook that way. Or tell them that Reagan is the Teflon President? I won't do that for them."

In fact, liberals have become a

favorite target of Mr. Sahl's in recent years, and, as he worked his act in clubs and theaters on the West Coast, he went after Mr. Reagan "only because the liberals are so toothless, they can't do anything about him."

Speaking of which, there is the current crop of Democrats ("Who are these guys?"), who have provided such tempting targets as Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., he of the rhetorical borrowings. "I think we've reached the lowest level — my ghostwriter has stolen from your ghostwriter," Mr. Sahl has edged into the movie

business in recent years, mostly writing scripts that studios have liked enough to commission, but not enough to make into movies. Hollywood, not unexpectedly, will get consideration in his act; Hollywood is filled with liberal angst. "I'm working for a producer, and he says to me, 'I don't know how you remain politically active.' He tells me how disillusioned he is."

"He says to me, 'I worked for Jack Kennedy, and these kids today love Reagan, stock certificates and BMWs. I feel so distraught. I don't live in the same country I was born in.' He's a disenchanted idealist. He says, 'I suppose it's absurd, we're out of the mainstream, nobody's going to listen to us, our lives are almost over. All we can do...' And I listen, because I want to know what we can do. 'All we can do,' he says, 'is make as much money as we can.'"

On the subject of movies: "You know, I remember when movies were a populist form. They weren't supposed to mean anything. It was diversion. They were being written by guys like Ben Hecht, literary Jews who owned books. And now they're being made by those guys from film school who shoot through each other's feet, who have no story sense, those guys with the beards and the glasses, and everybody's analyzing them. Film analysis. That's part of what I'm going to talk about."

If liberals and Hollywood will feel the heat, women will, too. "This is a generation intimidated by women," Mr. Sahl says, "God, are they afraid of women. The guys are Cream of Wheat."

"The trick, of course, is to tell the truth and keep it funny. The feminists are notoriously humorless. I'll tell you a joke that they rarely laugh at, if you really want to press them. I'll do this opening night and you'll see. 'Our generation made a lot of mistakes, we didn't realize that women were people, too. We made a lotta mistakes. We're not as smart as you kids. We did some ghastly things — we tried to sleep with our wives early in the marriage. God help us.' They hate that..."

Perhaps the "Is there anyone I haven't offended?" query still applies. "I am," Mr. Sahl says, "the opposition."

That is more than he can say for the new, and eminently successful, crop of comedians, those who were weaned on television and then ordained by Johnny Carson and David Letterman into the order of show business wealth. "In the phrase of Graham Greene, the comedian is a dangerous man. Well, they're not dangerous men. What they're trying to do is sell-in; they're not trying to overthrow. They're not Bertolt Brechts here. They want to be part of that commercial success, they want to join it. The Carson show is a ticket to join it. The healthy attitude for them would be to be skeptical of that, as a protector of the status quo, which he is...."

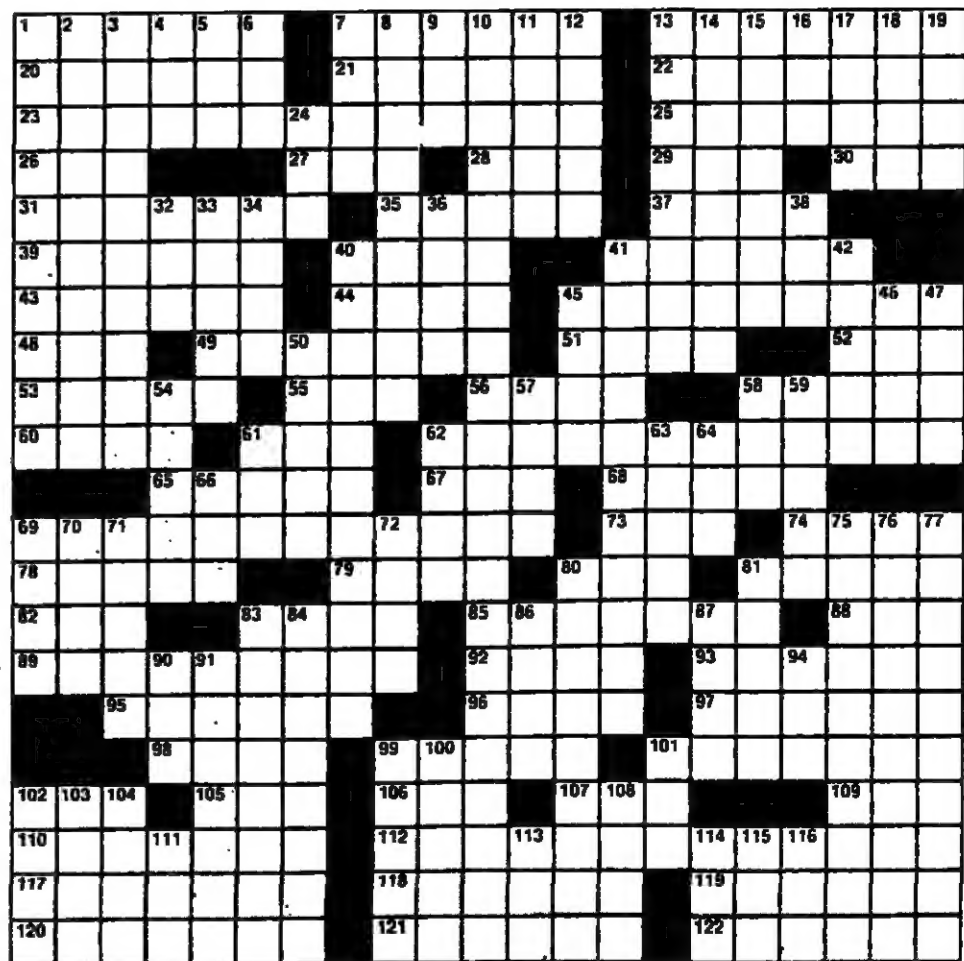
Mr. Sahl's run at the Neil Simon is scheduled for four weeks, with the hope, of course, of a Jackie Mason-like hit run. The show, which features minimal sets, Mort Sahl and not much else, is a relatively minor risk for Mr. Nederlander, the producer — costing less than \$250,000 to mount (including advertising).

Although Mr. Sahl's comedy is starkly different from Mr. Mason's, their course to Broadway was the same. After the Mason show became a hit in Los Angeles, the producer Nick Vanoff brought "The World According to Me" to Mr. Nederlander's Brooks Atkinson theater, where it found its triumph. Mr. Nederlander then put Mr. Sahl in the Henry Fonda theater in Los Angeles, where a one-week run sold out. It seemed worth taking a shot on Broadway. "We're coming into an election year, he's a political satirist," Mr. Nederlander said. "It's a guesswork on my part. Nobody can pick a hit from a flop."

Mr. Sahl is more certain of his chances. Although his run is scheduled for four weeks, he's already thinking of long-term housing, and he supposes that by the time he's through, there will be new demand for his unproduced movie scripts. "I suppose at the end of this run, I'll be able to clean out the bottom of the trunk. They'll want to make everything. That's standard. Because I'm confident this is going to run very well here. There's a vacuum here. They should be ready."

Calling the Role

BY CAROLINE G. FITZGERALD/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska



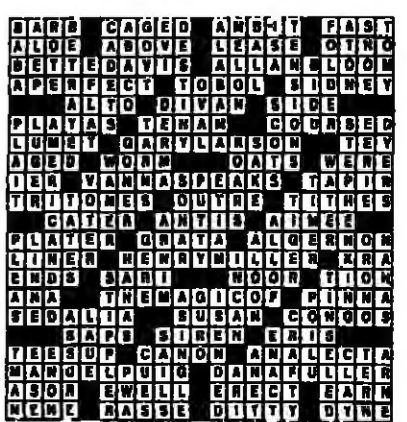
ACROSS

- 1 Fruit on a strawberry
- 7 Humbled
- 13 Mottled
- 20 Hymn tune
- 21 Sandbox edifice
- 22 Effacement
- 23 Justice
- 24 Turncoat
- 25 Steinbeck's birthplace
- 26 Vocalized pauses
- 27 Actress Ruby
- 28 Sleep hemp
- 29 Auditor, for short
- 30 Solicit
- 31 Pinto
- 35 Blackmore heroine
- 37 What a backward star may cry
- 38 Puget Sound seaport
- 40 A confier, to Fernando
- 41 Resident of Patna
- 43 Ethically neutral
- 44 Provided that, to Shakespeare
- 45 P.G.A. Hall of Famer Jones
- 48 Bird's song
- 49 Hot milk and ale concoctions
- 51 Intimidates
- 52 Toque or gibus
- 53 (jitterbugs) Notes added to notes: Abbr.
- 56 Money box
- 58 Phloze
- 60 Chimney in Coribus
- 61 — do cuer
- 62 Strikeout artist Morris
- 65 Obvious
- 67 Ideal or trip precursor
- 68 Ark
- 69 Hubert of the P.G.A.
- 73 The horned horse
- 74 Explorer Johnson et al.
- 78 Famed leading lady Ade
- 79 First known variable star
- 80 Roguish
- 81 Worn out
- 82 Ferber's "Basket"
- 83 — Islands, off Ireland
- 85 Sainted wife of St. Adrian
- 88 V.P. under 89

DOWN

- 1 Brief in
- 2 Four-syllable foot
- 3 Fort Wayne's Congressman Dan R.
- 4 Muff
- 5 Cole or Turner
- 6 One of the wahoos
- 7 Ten square chains
- 8 Extremes at Wimbledon
- 9 Silvery gray
- 10 Rings
- 11 Oscar winner
- 12 Kind of ray or wing
- 13 Portray
- 14 Some
- 15 Sounded like the y in yet
- 16 Letter from Levkas
- 17 Selene, to a Roman
- 18 Greek and Roman
- 19 Lettern
- 20 Staten Isl. forms one
- 33 Its capital is Muecap
- 34 "Symphonie Espagnole" composer
- 36 Step (hurry)
- 38 — Lanka
- 40 Quarterback Malone
- 41 Dennis of the P.B.A.
- 42 Restraint of emotions: Abbr.
- 45 Thwart
- 46 N.Z. tree
- 47 Charon's river
- 50 Youth
- 54 Partitions
- 57 Representation
- 58 L.B.J.'s V.P.
- 59 Fabulous
- 61 Poky
- 62 Gibe
- 63 Alcohol of perfumery
- 64 Kind of cross
- 66 "Chinatown Family" author — Yutang
- 69 Ball for juniors
- 70 City east of Osaka
- 71 — Bara, née Goodman
- 72 Sweet part of a kumquat
- 75 Lawmaker Bradley of N.J.
- 76 Structural flower
- 77 Not accented
- 80 Kind of sale
- 81 Gallery
- 83 "Who's — Virginia Woolf?"
- 84 Some chickens
- 86 Le hutienne mous
- 87 Particle
- 90 Tolkien's Treebeard, e.g.
- 91 First run of the still
- 94 Peroration
- 99 Flanders flower
- 100 Snood
- 101 Mahal leader
- 102 Bock, e.g.
- 103 Talented
- 104 Explorer Tasman
- 108 Guatemalan port
- 111 Siamese
- 113 For shame! Treebeard, e.g.
- 114 Good times
- 115 Proverb
- 116 Parson bird

Answers to puzzle of September 21.



Even Revolutionaries Smile for America's TV Cameras

Foreign leaders are bypassing diplomatic channels and using TV to address directly.

By JOHN CORRY

Foreign spokesmen, apologists and officials are speaking to us directly, and more often than before. American television now seems to be a pit stop for foreign leaders. On ABC's "Nightline" the other night, Ted Koppel mentioned "the increasingly popular practice on the part of foreign leaders of reaching past the American Government directly to the American public." Then ABC gave us a full hour of Ali Khamenei, the President of Iran. The night before that, ABC had presented senior Soviet officials. Ostensibly they were speaking to Peter Jennings and United States Congressmen, but actually they were talking to us. Last Sunday, Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of China, who is expected to succeed Deng Xiaoping as that country's paramount leader, took a turn on NBC. Media politics is now practiced on a global scale; foreign leaders want to win friends and influence people.

There is a format for this. Global media politics, as practiced, is not that much different from the domestic kind. "We consider the American people some of the most hard-working, honest, serious and intelligent people of the world," President Khamenei said gravely. Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, chief of the Soviet General Staff, said he wanted the "American people" to know how he felt about anti-ballistic missiles. Mr. Zhao, who was on "Meet the Press," did not bother to address us directly, but he didn't have to because his television image did it for him. Whatever happened to secretive, even xenophobic, Chinese leaders? Mr. Zhao, in

a business suit and tie, was a regular guy. Why, he was so relaxed, Tom Brokaw later told Chris Wallace, "he knocked back two beers" while he spoke.

Television correspondents are respectful to foreign leaders, more so than they are to domestic politicians. Good manners and the supranational spirit of television allow the leaders to appear in a neutral zone. President Khamenei insisted that the Iranian ship that was attacked by a United States helicopter had not been laying mines; to say otherwise, he said, was "absolutely incorrect and a lie." On the other hand, he said, even if the ship had been laying mines, which it certainly hadn't, the helicopter should not have attacked it.

Mr. Koppel accepted this, although he probably didn't believe it, and he seemed almost apologetic when he said that everyone had seen the mines on television news programs. "How do you respond," he asked President Khamenei, "to that videotape?"

Credit the Iranian President now with impressive television skills; he may have looked like an exotic in his gray and black robe, but he spoke with professional assurance. Videotape, he said, can be faked. If Americans can transfer mines from one ship to another, "they can do other things."

That may not sound like much of a response, but on television it played quite well. The Iranian President did not deny the existence of the videotape; he said only that the tape could be misleading. Moreover, he said it with what seemed to be conviction. He was solemn until Mr. Koppel asked him why Iran made threats against the United States; then he smiled. He smiled again when he was asked about the United States-Iran arms deal. When Mr. Koppel mentioned Robert C. McFarlane, the former national security adviser, Mr. Khamenei positively chuckled.

Could that really be the President of the country that recently proclaimed a "day of hate"? We were never quite certain, which presumably was what Mr. Khamenei wanted. In global media politics, substantive

differences between countries can dissolve. Mr. Koppel provided no adversarial presence and assiduously stayed in neutral. At the end of the interview, when President Khamenei denounced the American press for saying terrible things about Iran, Mr. Koppel said he was glad he had finally found something — "your low esteem of the American media" — on which the United States Government and Mr. Khamenei could agree. We had the impression that "American media" was caught between two sides.

That impression wasn't quite accurate, but it was a sure sign of global media politics. Foreign leaders speaking to us on television want to be in the neutral zone. When the Soviet leaders appeared on ABC — in an extraordinary live two-hour discussion between the Soviet leaders in Moscow and Mr. Jennings and the Congressmen in Washington — they had a handicap. The Congressmen disagreed with what they said. This meant there was no neutral zone. This also meant that we got a more substantive discussion.

Mr. Jennings gave us the essential point. "Speech control," he said, "is the television equivalent of arms control." The discussion was not to be determined by media good manners. Les Aspin, the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said the Soviet Union and its allies had an overwhelming superiority in conventional forces in Europe. Marshall Akhromeyev denied this; the imbalance, he said, was "a legend." Mr. Aspin came back strong and said, "We just flat out disagree about the facts."

A moment later, Trent Lott, the House Republican whip, three times in almost one breath, mentioned Soviet "aggressive behavior." What-ever else he was doing, Mr. Lott was making points for domestic political consumption; we expected him to do that. The important thing, though, was that he was also forcing Marshall Akhromeyev and his colleagues to work harder when they spoke to us. Television correspondents don't speak the way Mr. Lott did — their fraternity rules prevent it — but there are times you wish they did. The neutral zone blurs too many distinctions. Acrimony and argument can be more real.

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Big Spending for a Spent Fuel Bribe

Washington has reached rock bottom in its five-year search for an underground site to store spent fuel from nuclear reactors. The latest scheme, devised by Senator Bennett Johnston of Louisiana, would make Nevada the unlikely host, recompensed with a \$5 billion bribe. Congress's other ideas being even worse, this one deserves attention.

Fairness was a fatal flaw of the 1982 scheme that called for a repository to be built in the West and another site to be selected in the East. The plan seemed fine in the abstract yet became as popular as Russian roulette as the search narrowed.

Eastern states produce most of the radioactive waste but wish to bury it in the West. When the site selectors pronounced the fine granite formations of the East ideal for long-term storage, a howl went up. Last year, John Herrington, Secretary of Energy, gained the Administration political relief by suspending the search for an Eastern site. A repository that must last 100,000 years fell hostage to politicians with a horizon of two.

Mr. Herrington's stratagem shattered the 1982 agreement. Senator Johnston has now remixed the bits with force majeure and a fistful of cash. He wants Mr. Herrington to stop looking for new Eastern sites and to focus on the three principal Western sites — Hanford in Washington, Deaf Smith County in Texas and Yucca Mountain in Nevada.

But the Secretary is directed to consider cost (which would rule out Hanford) and groundwater (which eliminates Deaf Smith, above the Ogallala aquifer). The remaining candidate, Nevada, would receive a colossal "incentive package" — \$50 million a year while the site is constructed, and \$100

million for each of the 50 years it accepts waste.

According to a study by Luther Carter for Resources for the Future, a private research organization, Yucca Mountain is technically promising. A repository dug 1,000 feet below its top would still lie high above the water table. Water, the main threat to long-term storage, could corrode the waste canisters and dissipate radiation.

Mr. Johnston's bill was approved last month by the Senate Appropriations committee, and is supported by the Energy Department and the nuclear utilities. A rival bill in the House proposes halting all site selection during a complete review. But the search for a spent fuel depository has limped from fiasco to disaster for 20 years; another review will be no crutch.

If Yucca Mountain looks adequate, the \$1 billion process of testing its rocks and groundwater needs to begin at once. Studying several sites simultaneously just to spread the political burden would waste billions. But the \$100 million annual tribute to Nevada is far too high. The inhabitants of Carlsbad, N.M., are accepting a similar repository for nuclear weapons waste without holding their fellow citizens up for such ransom. They find the creation of new jobs reward enough.

Every state with a nuclear power plant already hosts a high-level radioactive waste dump — power plants have to store their spent fuel elements on site until a Federal repository is built. All would be better off with the spent fuel stored safely underground. Nevada would earn 49 salaries by accepting the site — and spurning the bribe.

America's Debt to Japanese-Americans

Through two world wars in which the United States and Germany were adversaries, anti-German feelings ran clear through society. In World War I, hamburger was renamed Salisbury steak and sauerkraut was called Liberty cabbage. In World War II, Spike Jones and his band regularly spit in Der Führer's face over the radio. But the Government never came close to locking up German-Americans as security risks.

Yet in the fury that followed Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the Government rounded up 120,000

when his family was interned. He tells a story like that of many other internees. The Government gave them 48 hours to pack up and leave. His father was forced to sell their house in Sacramento for \$50 and simply abandon his small produce business.

Another sponsor, Representative Norman Mineta of California, vividly recalls a train ride, under armed guard, to a camp in Wyoming. He was 10 years old at the time; his family spent a year in the camp and wasn't allowed to return to California until the war ended in 1945.



men, women and children of Japanese descent who lived on the West Coast and confined them as security risks. Most were American citizens; all were entitled to think that the Constitution and laws of the United States would protect them from such an abrogation of basic rights.

The internment decision wasn't taken lightly. It sparked fierce debate and some unlikely positions. Earl Warren, then California's attorney general, favored it; J. Edgar Hoover, the F.B.I. director, was opposed. Nevertheless, the decision was taken.

Now, 45 years later, Congress is moving to efface the shame and make amends for that wartime internment. Legislation providing for a formal apology, payments to victims and an education fund to preserve the lessons won passage in the House earlier this month. Similar legislation is expected to pass the Senate by the end of the year. But there is resistance within the Administration and it is unclear whether President Reagan will sign the bill. Not to do so would rekindle a grievous wrong.

Representative Robert Matsui of California, one of the bill's chief sponsors, was 6 months old

Government documents and newspaper accounts left no doubt. Racism and xenophobia were largely responsible for the Government's decision to undertake internment and the Supreme Court's willingness to countenance it.

The legislation passed by the House would give \$20,000 to each of the 66,000 internees still living. About \$50 million would fund education and research on the internment, to keep it alive in the nation's memory and prevent a repetition.

The Administration objects that the nation already has made amends for the internment with a 1948 law that paid out \$37 million to settle 26,000 damage claims and with statements by President Ford that the internment was a mistake. It's a pinched and grudging position.

"Mistake" doesn't begin to describe the wrong. It demands not a whispered admission of error, but a full-throated apology. Representative Barney Frank, who pried the bill out of the committee where it had languished since 1984, offers the right reason: "I think as a country, we need this bill more than the victims."

Miss Those Witch Hunts?

"Remember, there once was a Congress," said President Reagan last week to The Washington Times, "in which they had a committee that would investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that person had Communist involvement or Communist leanings. Well, they've done away with those committees." He continued, "That shows the success of what the Soviets were able to do in this country with making it unfashionable to be anti-Communist."

That was the House un-American Activities Committee, and its reckless anti-Communist crusades became known, with justice, as witch hunts. Abolition of the committee wasn't a Soviet but an American success.

In his ill-considered remarks, the President went on to accuse unnamed members of Congress and the news media of disseminating Soviet disinformation. By perverse coincidence, the very next day, one of the people who had been anonymously fingered in Government reports finally received an apology.

Penn T. Kimball, a retired professor of journalism, sued the Government to admit it erred in baselessly labeling him and his late wife as national security risks for 42 years. After discovering the damaging files in 1977, it took Mr. Kimball, now 71, another 10 years to get his name cleared and the Government to admit the wrong.

The White House now says the President doesn't wish a return of the committee. Penn Kimball can tell him why.

Topics of The Times

Shortsighted on Long Shots

America pioneered in photographing the earth from space, but its pictures for civilian use are now third best, behind France and the Soviet Union. The Russians take the most precise photos.

The U.S. Geological Survey, which monitors U.S. territory for earthquakes, pollution and other disturbances, wants to buy Russian photos of the U.S.A. As matters stand, it can't, but bureaucratic barriers may be crumbling. That's to be encouraged.

Civilian satellite picture-taking doesn't pick up as much detail as the military's, but it's getting better. The Russian images define objects as small as 30 feet. The best that U.S. Landsat cameras can do is 100 feet. U.S. technology was initially curbed for security; the Government didn't want spy-quality cameras widely available.

The technology was further hobbled by Washington's turning Landsat over to private ownership without making good on the promise of \$250 million in Federal start-up funding. So the French moved ahead, and later the Russians. Then the Reagan Administration sought, without success, to curb Russia's advances by keeping them out of Western markets.

The Geological Survey learned about the Soviet Union's superior pictures a year ago and only now has obtained permission to talk with Moscow about a possible deal. Barring the survey from getting the best available long-range photos because they happen to be Russian would be, well, shortsighted.

Letters

All Hispanic Americans Are Definitely Not Alike

To the Editor:

Your front-page article on the Hispanic population growing five times as fast as the rest of the United States, drawing on a recent report by the Bureau of the Census, unintentionally perpetuates the myth that the Hispanic population of the United States is a homogeneous, ethnic group, an unwarranted notion that could mislead marketing people and, much to the point these days, Presidential candidates.

While Hispanic people presumably share a language and culture inherited from Spain, there is at least as much difference between some countries in Latin America — for instance, Guatemala and Argentina — as between France and Belgium or England and the United States. To call us all Hispanic is approximately equivalent to calling the French and the Germans Europeans and dealing with them as one: geographically accurate, but unrealistic. And certainly the wrong approach, if you want to win us over individually, whether you're after our consumer dollar — or our vote.

Many Hispanic Americans resent the catch-all term itself and, beyond that, object to the Census Bureau's comparison of Hispanic Americans with "white Americans." While the bureau is sensitive to the objection, there

are valid, census-related reasons for the terminology: what, after all, is left if you compare statistically a minority group with "all Americans"? Labels are no fun, but sometimes they are inevitable. So let's accept the Hispanic label for the moment.

Actually, there are more depressing statistics for instance:

• Hispanic Americans remain the least educated major United States subgroup. As of 1984, at least, the median number of school years completed by Hispanic people 25 years old and over was 11.3 years, compared with 12.2 years for blacks and 12.6 for white Americans. Hispanic Americans have the highest school dropout rate.

• Hispanic people are more than twice as likely as white Americans to be poor.

• Hispanic people are less likely to own their own homes than blacks or whites.

• And, most depressing of all: Hispanic people are less likely either to register to vote or actually vote than black or white Americans.

But if you examine the Hispanic subgroups individually, a different picture emerges. The statistics for Cuban-Americans, for example, are more encouraging. According to a 1985 Census Bureau report, 19.1 per-

cent of Cuban-Americans held managerial and professional jobs, compared with 8.6 percent for Mexican-Americans, 12.5 percent for Puerto Ricans, 11.6 percent for the total population of Spanish origin and 25.2 percent for the United States population overall.

In 1980, the unemployment rate for Cuban-Americans was 5.6 percent, not only below the unemployment rate for all Hispanic Americans of 8.9 percent, but even below the overall non-Hispanic rate of 8.5 percent. The voter turnout of Cuban-Americans in south Florida for recent elections has been consistently higher than the national average. The disparity between Cuban-American immigrants and Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, however, in no way belittles the other subgroups; it is the result of some very logical factors:

• Both Mexico and Puerto Rico export primarily manual laborers. The reasons they do so are many and obvious. Mexico has a 2,000-mile border with the United States, which despite recent efforts at control, is quite permeable to legal and illegal passage; while the Puerto Ricans have virtually unimpeded access to the job market in the United States since they are citizens by right of birth.

• While there are well-qualified, highly skilled members of Puerto Rico's and certainly Mexico's work forces who could, and do, make a contribution in the United States, mostly they do not have to emigrate, because they have opportunities for employment and for making a contribution in their own countries. Therefore, the ratio of manual laborers to trained managers who leave Mexico and Puerto Rico is high.

• Because of earlier dependence on the United States, Cuban industrial managers were generally well attuned to United States ways and practices in their industries and businesses in Cuba. The English language, and its use in business, was probably not so foreign in Havana as in Mexico City or even San Juan.

• The Cuban Revolution forced the exodus of the most qualified, democratic, free-market-oriented members of the community.

• But the most important reason, perhaps, is a sad one. The Cubans cannot go back. The intensity of their commitment to their work in this country, therefore, has to be greater. And it shows. ANTONIO NAVARRO
New York, Sept. 16, 1987

Puerto Rican Plight

To the Editor:

Puerto Ricans have special problems, assert Marta Tienda and William A. Diaz (Op-Ed, Aug. 28). True. However, I believe the authors have overlooked the underlying reasons.

According to them, the residents of Puerto Rico have long had "full rights of citizenship." But the truth is that the residents of Puerto Rico to this day do not have full rights of United States citizenship. They do not have voting representation in Congress. They do not pay Federal taxes. This strips them of the social, political and economic responsibility that defines full citizenship. It also creates taxpayer resentment that falls undeservedly on Puerto Rican shoulders.

There lies the problem. Puerto Ricans remain in political limbo, resulting in a sort of national despair. The majority are treated like second-class citizens, not only in the continental United States, but also in their homeland. Their anomalous status keeps them in a self-fulfilling feeling of hopelessness. Why strive, when nothing you can do is going to change the situation, and no one seems to care?

Well, I care. It's a shame that Congress can't seem to act one way or another on Puerto Rico. That our Government maintains a people in psychic subjection should be a national issue of high priority. I think that when Puerto Rico has achieved either statehood or independence, we will see a dramatic change in the upward mobility of Puerto Ricans. AUDREY ST. MARK
New York, Sept. 16, 1987

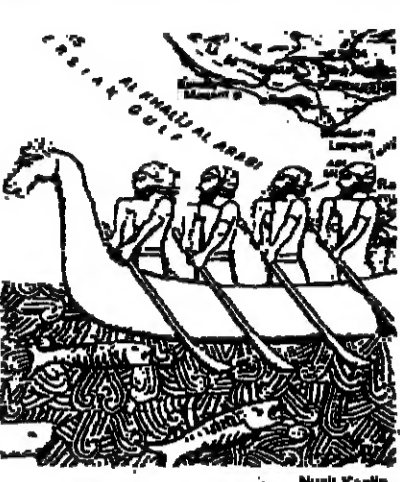
Sailing Again Legendary Gulfs and Seas

To the Editor:

In "It's Really the Sumerian Gulf" (editorial, Sept. 20), you favor the traditional name Persian Gulf over Arabian Gulf for the waters above the Strait of Hormuz. You say, "it's the same name that was used by Strabo and other ancient geographers."

True, but not the whole truth. A few centuries before Strabo, another classical author, Theophrastus, called the same body of water the Arabian Gulf ("Historia Plantarum," IV, 7, 7). His source was Androsthenes of Thasos, a naval officer who led an expedition in the region in Alexander the Great's time.

G. W. BOWERSOCK
Professor of Ancient History
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N.J., Sept. 20, 1987



To the Editor:

Your suggestion to rename the Persian Gulf the Sumerian Gulf (editorial, Sept. 20) is music to this Sumerologist's ears. As the originators of so much that we have in Western civilization, the Sumerians deserve some kind of permanent recognition, and this would be the ideal way to give it to them.

However, I would correct one statement. The Sumerian word a-ba does

not mean great water, but simply sea. The Sumerians were also quite aware that the Persian Gulf was not the world's only sea, and they referred to it as the lower sea to distinguish it from the upper sea, that is, the Mediterranean.

JERROLD S. COOPER
Chairman, Professor of Sumerian
Near Eastern Studies Department
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Sept. 22, 1987

Closing P.L.O. Office Tells Where U.S. Stands

To the Editor:

You say closing the Palestine Liberation Organization's Washington office "won't hurt the P.L.O." (editorial, Sept. 17). Success in the battle against terrorism begins with willingness to identify those responsible and refusal to treat them as ordinary folk. The State Department action makes clear where the U.S. stands on the P.L.O. and may encourage other countries that have been passive.

You say the action has no "practical effect" because the P.L.O.'s American supporters have the right to form a new office. True, American P.L.O. supporters have the right to run a pro-P.L.O. office here, but such an office, unlike that closed down, will not be able to receive funds or direction from the P.L.O.

Moreover, the closing demonstrates vividly that the U.S. protects fundamental constitutional rights of Americans while not allowing itself to be paralyzed when international terrorists demand equal treatment. This distinction helps build consensus to counter terrorism by avoiding both the extremes of civil liberties violations and passivity in the face of terrorism.

Finally, you say this is an "empty gesture" that will result in a "public relations windfall" for the P.L.O. But if it is made clear that the action does not stifle the civil liberties of Americans but merely involves closing a foreign terrorist entity in this country, there is no reason to fear the impact on public opinion. To the contrary, further airing of what the P.L.O. and terrorism are about is all to the good.

In sum, you ought to be applauding Secretary of State George Shultz, members of Congress and the American Jewish community whose collective action produced this heartening step. ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN
National Director, Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith
New York, Sept. 18, 1987

A Mark of Greatness

To the Editor:

To Edith Oldham's list of quotations on plagiarism (letter, Sept. 27), may I add one of S.J. Perelman's? "Mediocre writers borrow; the great ones steal." GORDON CARLSON
Evanston, Ill., Sept. 28, 1987

The Freedom Hurdle Nicaragua Must Leap

To the Editor:

At his confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Sept. 17, Judge Robert H. Bork said he no longer favored limiting freedom of speech advocating overthrow of the government (news story, Sept. 18). "He told Senator Leahy," you report, "that because he no longer feared the prospect of a violent overthrow of the United States Government, he now believed 'we can afford to have a wide First Amendment protection of the sort that Brandenburg [v. Ohio] supplies.'"

The clear implication is that if our Government were in danger of being overthrown, Judge Bork would limit the freedom to advocate such an act. President Reagan presumably agrees with this. At the same time, however, Mr. Reagan insists that the Government of Nicaragua grant full political freedom to its armed opponents, the United States-backed contras. Since the Government of Nicaragua has for some time been in danger of violent overthrow, Mr. Reagan seems to demand a higher standard of freedom for that country than for our own. RACHELLE MARSHALL
Stanford, Calif., Sept. 18, 1987

Is Discretion Enough to Ask of Our Candidates?

To the Editor:

In opening "Politicians and Privacy" (editorial, Sept. 10) with, "Gary Hart keeps missing the point," you invite the same remark about yourself. You conclude that "not that he was so willing to see other women; it's that he was so ready to run reckless risks." This placing of discretion above the substance of conduct calls for the accusation usually leveled against religion: hypocrisy.

Of course, Mr. Hart hardly minimized the hypocrisy when he replied to a reporter's question that he thought adultery wrong. If he really thinks it is wrong, why does he retain the right to be private about it? Why not say openly he thinks it's all right?

By the way, why is a President's lieum everybody's business, and his psychiatrist's report and his tax return, but not his sexual conduct? Does sexual conduct have no effect on his behavior, loyalty, devotion to society?

Would we apply the cavalier notion that we are all sinners to Watergate, the Iran-contra affair or legal crimes? Why do we assume that Presidents must obey the law, but not moral standards? If there are no moral standards, why not say so openly, instead of talking about discretion? Mr. Hart's recklessness at least had the charm of consistency about it. Now he has given that up too.

What two adults, consenting, as the expression goes, do recklessly or discreetly, is part of social conduct. Society may decide to be as permissive as it likes, but there is something false about dividing between behavior and discretion. In proper behavior, discretion adds to propriety. In improper behavior, indiscretion is an aggravating factor. The behavior of some Presidents may have been smarter, but no more moral. (Rabbi) JACOB CHINITZ
Halifax, Nova Scotia, Sept. 10, 1987



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ABROAD AT HOME

Anthony Lewis

Reagan
And the
Russians

President Reagan's decision to go for an arms agreement and an early summit meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev has left some of his faithful flock disgruntled. Conservative Republican senators say they will try to block the arms treaty. Right-wing commentators write gloomily about the menace of détente.

In those reactions there is a sense of having been betrayed. And the objectors have a point. After all, Mr. Reagan is the same man who denounced détente at his first White House press conference in 1981, who said Soviet leaders "reserve unto themselves the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat."

Why has Ronald Reagan, scourge of the "evil empire," decided to make a deal with the Soviet Union? Why

He sees
that
it's time
to do
business.

has he done so, moreover, in that most sensitive area, nuclear arms control — the very area in which he used to say the Russians could not be trusted to keep to agreements?

The broad answer to those questions is that a President who wants to leave his mark on world history is inevitably drawn in that direction. He heads one of two superpowers, and relations with the other are his prime responsibility. Whatever his ideology, he is drawn to make that relationship more rational if he can. And arms control is the most potent symbol.

Of course those who call themselves conservatives reject that logic, as do conservatives in the Soviet Union. The rhetoricians of the American right argue that arms agreements lull us into letting our defenses down, that we are better off to have a bristling relationship with the Soviet Union. But those who speak that way are not Presidents.

Henry Kissinger is a leading critic of the projected agreement on intermediate nuclear forces. But when he was in a position to make a mark on history, he was all over himself with eagerness to negotiate an arms treaty — one that many would say was less advantageous to the United States than the I.N.F. proposal.

President Reagan has not given up his views about the Communist menace by any means. He summoned up some of the old rhetoric just a few days after announcing the summit. But from the start of his second term he has sought to do business with the Russians. The call of history was there.

Still, the negotiations of I.N.F. might never have reached fruition. Many of Mr. Reagan's own appointees had no enthusiasm for the project. His wild ideas at the Reykjavik summit meeting no doubt intensified their fears on arms control. But two factors pushed the Reagan Administration toward an I.N.F. agreement.

First, there was Mr. Gorbachev. He wanted an arms agreement. He wanted it so much that he made concession after concession to the American negotiating position. He left almost no ground for refusing to agree except to say that we really didn't mean our own proposals.

Mr. Gorbachev agreed to the original Reagan proposal to eliminate all intermediate-range weapons. He agreed to include shorter-range missiles. He agreed, in sum, to remove 1,435 warheads from the Soviet armory while the U.S. gave up 348. He was also so agreeable to on-site inspections that the United States pulled back from its demands, fearing too many Russian inspectors on our soil. To say no to all that would have been rather embarrassing. Mr. Kissinger said grumpily that there was a lesson in this business: "Be thoughtful about what you propose. The other side may accept it."

Second, there was the Iran-contra affair. If its image of folly was to be changed in any significant degree before Mr. Reagan's Presidency ended, the only real possibility was a productive summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev.

Success is not yet assured for the President. To take Senate approval of an I.N.F. agreement for granted would be extremely unwise. There are many political traps ahead, among them Senator Bob Dole's felt need to play to the extreme right in his campaign for the Republican nomination.

The dangers are the more acute because this tired, befuddled Administration has no evident candidate for the tough job of handling the proposed treaty in the Senate. Secretary of State Shultz will probably have to take charge himself — and that will not be easy.

But President Reagan deserves credit now. He has proved more flexible — more sensible — than many of his supporters. He has taken at least this much of the chance to deal with the Soviet Union: at an opportune moment in history.

NASA's Manned-Space Nonsense

By Alex Roland

TODAY marks the 30th anniversary of the Sputnik launching, which prompted a shocked United States Government to make a major investment in engineering and space exploration. One has to wonder what sort of shock it will take to return our misdirected space effort to the right path. Clearly, the Challenger tragedy wasn't enough.

More than a year and a half after Challenger exploded, NASA is engaged in business pretty much as usual, single-mindedly pursuing the nonsensical policy of manned space flight that it embraced in the late 1960's.

That policy led to the Challenger disaster and will condemn the space program to repeated failures and commercial irrelevance if it is not altered.

Manned space flight is ruinously expensive — about 10 times as costly as unmanned flight. For virtually any specific mission that can be identified in space, an unmanned spacecraft can be built to conduct it more cheaply and more reliably. If we are to compete effectively in the business of space, we need the best unmanned spacecraft. But NASA's obsession with manned flight leaves little money for developing unmanned technologies.

Why does NASA cling to the idea of manned flight? Robots, the argument goes, lack the "sex appeal" of astronauts. Manned space flight has been seen as a loss-leader to keep Congress and the public in the market for space activities.

Armed with this logic, NASA has stubbornly followed an agenda laid out in 1969 that aimed at a manned mission to Mars, the only satisfactory encore to the moon mission. Intermediate steps included a space station, a kind of way station for the Mars expedition, and the space shuttle, to get to and from the station.

The first element in the design, the

The policy
will lead to
failures and
commercial
irrelevance.

space shuttle, was sold to the public as an economical way into space. By 1972, NASA was telling Congress that the shuttle would be free — that is, it would fly cheaply enough to amortize its development costs in 12 years.

NASA knew, or should have known, at the time that this claim and others like it were patently absurd. Its own engineers pointed out, in internal documents and in external publications, why the shuttle could not possi-

Alex Roland, professor of history at Duke University, was a historian with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration from 1973 to 1981.

bly achieve the economies being claimed for it. But by this time the efficacy of manned space flight had become an article of faith within NASA, embraced with religious zeal.

Even the Challenger explosion —

the result of NASA's desperate effort to force the shuttle, through acceleration of its launch rate, to achieve the economies that had been promised 15 years and \$30 billion earlier — could not shake the faith. Undaunted, the

agency is bulling ahead with its 1989 policy.

The shuttle, perhaps the most expensive launch vehicle in the world, will remain the heart of NASA's launch capability for the rest of the century. Conceding that the shuttle can no longer compete economically, NASA has simply canceled most commercial payloads, abandoning responsibility for holding the American position in the international market for launch services.

NASA will instead allow private companies to compete against foreign governments, insuring that the Europeans and the Russians take the lion's share of this lucrative trade, with the Japanese and Chinese right behind. The recent launch of the European Ariane rocket signals the intent and the capability of the Europeans to cement their pre-eminence in this market while the United States is still grounded.

Worse still, NASA remains committed to the second step of its 1969 agenda, the space station. After the shuttle's fourth flight in 1982, NASA went to President Reagan to request approval of the space station, even though the shuttle was not then performing up to specifications and showed no prospect of ever reaching its goals.

President Reagan finally approved the space station in 1984 at a cost estimated by NASA to be \$8 billion. The National Research Council Committee on Space Station, a Government advisory panel, now puts the cost at \$27.5 billion in 1984 dollars, or about \$32.5 billion in 1988 dollars — an increase of around 100 percent a year since the program was announced. And this estimate is based on NASA's own cost projections, which history has shown to be more optimistic than a May-December wedding vow.

NASA claims that it can sustain the station with only eight shuttle flights a year. By the most optimistic of projections, that is an annual burden on the country's civilian space budget of \$2.5 billion a year, about a quarter of what we are currently spending.

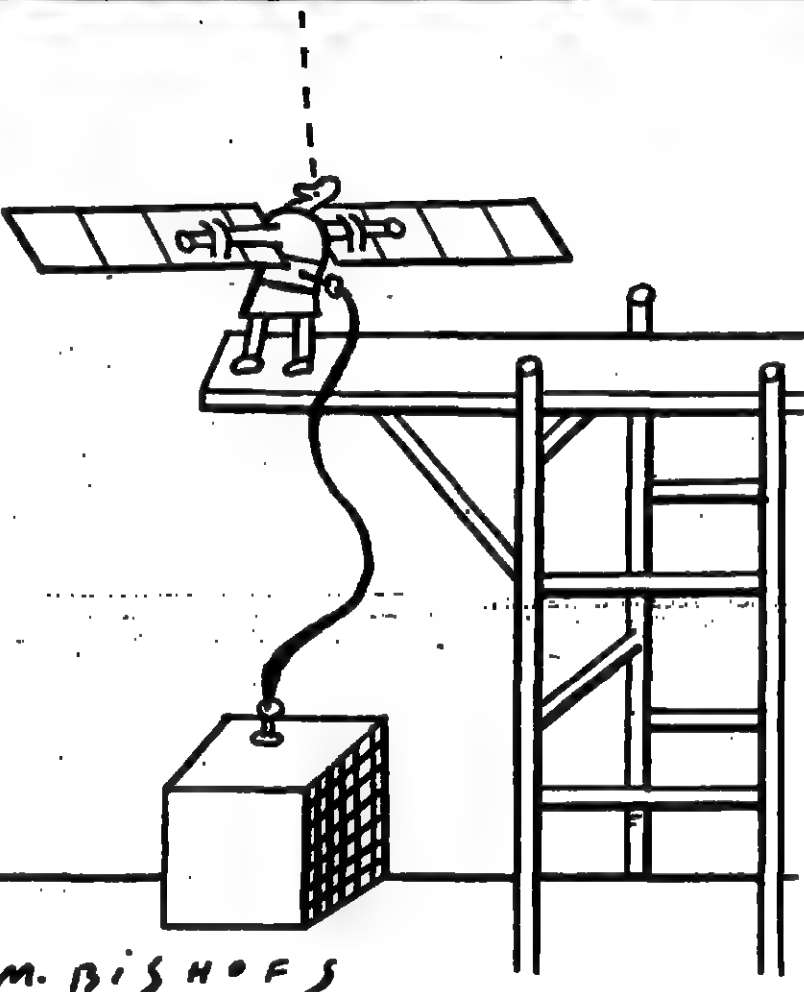
If the shuttle and the space station had some compelling mission, these costs might be more attractive. But there is little advantage to the space shuttle over expendable launch vehicles. Moreover, there is little work to be done on a space station that could not be done better on a man-tended platform, one that was visited by astronauts periodically, repaired, refueled and left in place to do its work.

It is fashionable to cite the Russians' space station as a rationale for ours. But theirs is smaller and cheaper, and it has proved itself to be just about as useless as ours would be.

Instead of pursuing the discredited agenda of the 1960's, NASA must plot a new course into the 21st century. Our most compelling need in space is for a safe, reliable and economical launch vehicle to get us there. NASA should begin a major research and development program to address this critical need.

To fund the program, it should cancel the replacement orbiter for the Challenger, which is rather like contracting to hand-tool an Edsel. Additionally, it should cancel, or at the very least postpone indefinitely, the space station.

Most importantly, NASA must get over its enthusiasm for sending men to Mars and concentrate instead on getting rockets into space.



Sanctions Won't End Apartheid

By Helen Suzman

A year ago the European Economic Community, the Commonwealth countries and the United States introduced economic sanctions against South Africa. The effects of these sanctions are now under review.

The Reagan Administration, which tried unsuccessfully to veto the comprehensive anti-apartheid act approved by Congress a year ago, believes that the sanctions have been misguided and has rejected new penalties. Other leaders share these doubts.

The European and Commonwealth sanctions are less extensive than the American sanctions, in part because of the determined opposition of the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, and the West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, both of whom repudiate apartheid but believe sanctions to be counter-productive and ineffective.

The experience of the past year bears out this belief, the most compelling evidence being the election last May for South Africa's white assembly. This election produced a distinct swing to the right, following a campaign that played heavily on the security concerns of the white minority while encouraging a burst of patriotic sentiment against "outside interference."

These and other factors — including a virtual boycott by the radical left — gave President P. W. Botha's National Party 123 seats out of 168 and strengthened the far-right Conservative Party. The Conservatives won the support of 27 percent of the white electorate, captured 22 seats and displaced the anti-apartheid Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition.

Helen Suzman, the longest serving member of Parliament in South Africa, is spokeswoman for the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr. Botha has since reimposed the state of emergency, renewing and extending the powers of detention without trial. Meanwhile, the army and police remain in force in the strife-ridden black and "coloured" townships, press censorship has been tightened and reform measures have been put on the back burner.

So much for the political value of economic sanctions. What of their economic effects? Here, sanctions have been effective. The question is whether they have been at all useful.

The loss of export markets, such as the North American and Scandinavian markets for fruit, will seriously jeopardize the labor market in the western Cape where fruit growers employ nearly a quarter of a million workers, all of whom are black or "coloured." Similarly, declining markets for coal will affect the livelihood of about 30,000 black migrants from neighboring black territories.

More broadly, the absence of foreign investment capital and the withdrawal of foreign companies (especially American firms fed up with the hassle factor and the threat of boycotts at home) have reduced the growth rate to less than the minimum required to keep job opportunities level with new job seekers.

It is estimated that some two million people are presently unemployed, mostly unskilled black workers, and that by the year 2000 the number will have risen to nearly eight million, without sanctions, and to almost 10 million with sanctions.

There
cannot be
democracy
in a
wasteland.Economic
expansion
will promote
change.

And this is a nation without much of a social security safety net.

Needless to say, whatever harm is done to South Africa's economy will certainly harm the economies of its neighbors, for southern Africa is one economic unit. All the neighboring black states depend on South Africa for jobs, markets, electricity and transport. And if South Africa's job-sustaining capacity is reduced, thousands of foreign workers will be repatriated to the neighboring black states.

One wonders, then, why leaders of the black states are so vociferous in their support of sanctions, and why, since South African blacks are least able to sustain the mass increase in joblessness, their leaders also advocate sanctions and other punitive measures.

The answer to the first question is that the frontline states, while continuing to trade briskly with South Africa, see international pressure as the only way in which to bring down the Pretoria regime. They also rely on the West to make good any economic losses they sustain as a result of sanctions. The answer to the second is usually: "South African blacks are suffering so much already that any additional suffering caused by sanctions will make little difference to their lives."

This contention is not borne out by the reality of joblessness in a country with no dole and no food stamps. There is, of course, a more sophisticated, if equally unrealistic, reply: Economic stress will bring on the revolution and the downfall of the capitalist system, which is closely identified with apartheid. Such a view

totally underestimates the strength, ferocity and determination of the armed forces in South Africa to maintain the status quo.

If there were any chance that sanctions would dismantle apartheid, I would be the first to support them. But reducing South Africa to a wasteland would lead not to a nonracial democracy but to more oppression and misery. No one should be under the delusion that things are so bad in South Africa that they could not get worse.

A little over a year ago, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said, "The onus is on those who do not want sanctions to provide us with a viable, nonviolent strategy to force the dismantling of apartheid."

While I disagree with the underlying premise of this remark — that sanctions provide such a strategy — it is relevant to ask what alternative there is, and it is particularly relevant when the question comes from a man who cannot vote, despite the fact that he is South African-born, the head of the Anglican Church in South Africa and a Nobel laureate.

The sad truth of the matter is that there is no instant solution that will transform the South African scene. Despite all the pressures from within and without the republic, the fundamentals of apartheid remain. The most effective instrument for change is economic expansion within the country. This is the force that led in the first instance to those non-cosmetic changes that have taken place in the last 10 years — the opening of skilled jobs to blacks, improvements in education and training, recognition of black trade unions, acceptance of a permanent black urban population and the abolition of the pass laws.

The Western democracies, whose basic values are freedom and human rights, should continue to protest long and loud against all the miserable practices of apartheid and to use all positive measures to speed its demise. But moral indignation should not lead them to impose punitive measures that will wreck the economy of the country in which black South Africans will inevitably share.

ESSAY

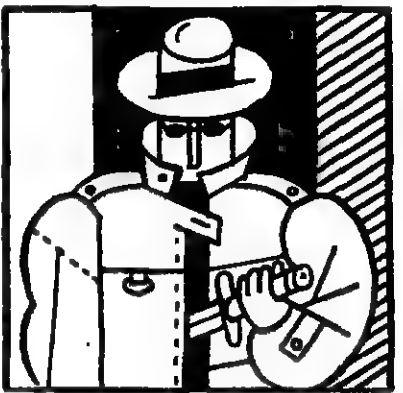
William Safire

In
From the
Cold

Couple of years ago, after Director of Central Intelligence William Casey threatened to try to jail editors and reporters who dared to print information stamped "secret," I received a call from a Federal law enforcement source.

"What's with your old friend Casey?" he wanted to know. "He's making all this noise about leaks, but we happen to know he's been spending hours alone, home and office, with Bob Woodward of The Post. The F.B.I. doesn't want to ask Casey about it because C.I.A. handles its own security."

Ever eager to protect the nation's secrets from being divulged first to a rival publication, I called Bill Casey and put it to him: Was he being a hypocrite, complaining about leaks by



day and leaking to a prominent reporter at night? His gruff reply was unequivocal: "I haven't seen Woodward for 18 months."

That was untrue, as we now know from evidence of frequent interviews in a book that appears to be titled "Bob Woodward," as told to somebody named "Veil." The F.B.I.'s unofficial surveillance was on target, and I am glad now I wrote in this space about the suspicions at Justice and the bald-faced Casey denial.

That's because the initial brouhaha about this book centers on a supposed "deathbed confession" by Mr. Casey to knowing about the diversion of Iran profits to the Contras. Did reporter Woodward slip past the C.I.A. guards and the vigilant Casey family to see the dying man alone in his hospital room? If so, did the brain-damaged, sedated patient understand the incriminating question, and did he nod yes and say "I believe" and did his head drop as he murmured "Please, leave?"

The answer is: It doesn't matter. That melodramatic scene, foolishly added to show enterprise and squeeze a controversial news lead into the book, contributes nothing to our understanding of our most activist D.C.I. The reporter's need to tack on a moral judgment — and to presume to pose as a public confessor for a man who chose not to confess — demeans and discredits his work.

What does matter is that a skillful journalist has penetrated our intelligence agencies and their oversight committees to provide us with the most revealing and important book on the C.I.A. since "The Invisible Government" by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.

Ignore the hyped excerpts, which have led the President and Sophia Casey to lash out at the author, and are causing C.I.A. bureaucrats (like disgruntled former deputy D.C.I. Bobby Inman, who is now desperate to appear not to have been a source) to bewail the exposure of details about meetings on covert activities. And distrust, as I do, most direct quotation reconstructed without notes or unheard by the writer. Read the whole book; you will be much better informed about what went right and went wrong inside the Reagan Administration and you will have a fair portrait of William J. Casey.

This is the Casey I knew well: bluff, wide-ranging, impatient, daring, purposeful, enthusiastic, patriotic, secretive, cunning, deceptive. Woodward's Casey is close to the real Casey, missing only the profound cancer-induced change in personality in the final year; his longtime admirers and ideological allies should get off the defensive and enjoy the recognition and respect he gets in this biography.

Why did he spend time with a star reporter even after the fact of their meetings appeared in print? The cagey veteran of the O.S.S., I'm almost certain, was not spilling fresh secrets. He saw himself as staying in touch with an adversary, protecting his back against his bureaucratic enemies.

William Casey was the poker player anteing up more information to see what was in the other player's hand, then bluffing when possible — or marking a card when necessary — to take the pot by putting a better light on what the reporter was learning elsewhere. America's most overtly covert man had a strategic mission as well as a concern for his place in the history of derring-do, and Bob Woodward offered an irresistible challenge to both. That was why the D.C.I. stayed in touch, even though he knew his refusal to disengage flashed a green light to others to talk.

Did our master spy know of the diversion of Iran money to the Contras? Of course he did; knowledge was power, and the resolute denial of guilty knowledge was quintessential Casey.

However — if, on his deathbed, this murky man suddenly became lucid, confessed his Congressional sins to the nearest reporter and sought absolution from his doxy critics, I would say: Wait a minute, that's not Casey; why is he conning us?

Japanese Cars for Cadillac Tastes

Honda, Nissan and Toyota move up to luxury — and Detroit isn't laughing.

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

LOS ANGELES
MICHAEL CARPENTER of Pacific Palisades, Calif., considered buying a BMW this summer, but instead he traded in his 4-year-old Cadillac Eldorado for a \$27,000 Acura Legend coupe. "It is a beautifully appointed and styled car," said Mr. Carpenter, the 47-year-old publisher of *Adweek*/West magazine. "Boy, is it fun to drive."

That Mr. Carpenter would choose to spend that kind of money on a Japanese car instead of a European or American model — Acura is a division of Honda — says a lot about how far the Japanese auto makers have come since they started selling tiny, inexpensive "econo-boxes" in the United States 30 years ago. And the early success of the Acura line, which was introduced last year, is only the first sign of a major push by Honda and its biggest Japanese rivals, Toyota and Nissan, into the American luxury-car market.

Having noted Acura's fast start and Honda's plan to expand the line with even more expensive models, Toyota and Nissan each announced recently that they would begin offering vehicles in the \$30,000 range two years from now. For Japan's Big Three auto makers, these are risky and ambitious strategies that put them on a collision course not just with each other, but with Detroit's top-of-the-line cars and the prestigious European imports as well.

The Japanese companies all say they are primarily interested in appealing to the traditional buyers of Japanese cars in the United States — drivers who are now growing older, wealthier and more willing to pay for luxury, and who in the past had no alternative but to turn to Detroit or the Europeans when they wanted something more plush. But the Japanese are certain also to end up gunning for the owners of American and European luxury cars like Mr. Carpenter, setting up what some experts think will be one of the most important marketing battles since the first Toyota hit these shores in 1957.

"The move into upscale cars by the Japanese is more of a threat to Detroit than the competition from Japan in the low end 10 years ago," said Christopher Cedergren, a senior analyst at the automobile research firm of J. D. Power & Associates.

It is at the high end of the market where profit margins are fattest for General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. And it is in that segment, analysts predict, that Detroit's cars will be the most vulnerable to competitors who have proved themselves to be aggressive and quality-conscious. Despite a downturn this year, it is also where sales are expected to grow the fastest in the next decade. Luxury cars are roughly defined as those selling for \$20,000 and up.

Even the Europeans, despite flashier images and the cachet of names such as Jaguar, Audi, BMW and Mercedes-Benz, are expected to be vulnerable because they have historically captured many drivers of Japanese cars who have upgraded to something classier.

"The domestics have much more to



Michael Carpenter, ex-Cadillac owner, with his \$27,000 Acura Legend.

lose at first," Mr. Cedergren said. "Later the BMW's and the Mercedes's will feel the pinch, too."

Honda's early experience with Acura suggests that both Detroit and the Europeans have plenty to worry about. Surveys of buyers of Acura's Legend coupe showed that about 41 percent had previously owned Japanese cars, 33 percent had domestic cars and 24 percent had European models. Purchasers of the coupe had a median family income of \$90,000, the surveys showed.

"These people can buy whatever they want, within reason," said Ed Taylor, a vice president of Acura. "We're clearly a serious alternative."

The luxury-car market is fiercely competitive as it is, with more domestic and imported models crowding showrooms and price-cutting becoming common. General Motors, Ford and Chrysler have all accelerated their efforts in recent years to give their luxury cars — including the Cadillac and Lincoln lines and the Chrysler New Yorker — more contemporary looks and better performance to appeal to the younger drivers who have always preferred imports.

The European auto makers contend that they continue to set the standards in styling, handling and technical advances such as anti-lock braking systems. But makers of luxury cars on both sides of the Atlantic say they have grown increasingly wary as they

look toward the Pacific. "We definitely see it as a threat," said Peter Gerosa, general sales and service manager for the Cadillac division of General Motors, long the leader in luxury-car sales. "The competition is only going to get tougher."

However promising the outlook for them, the Japanese companies are well aware that they have a host of problems to overcome, not the least of which is creating an image of luxury from scratch. The more expensive the car, experts say, the more important it is that the car make a statement about the accomplishment and social standing of the driver. A car that no one has ever heard of doesn't say much of anything.

Moreover, executives at the American and European manufacturers say the Japanese will have to learn to deal with more demanding customers by providing more personalized service and recognizing the greater

importance to the buyer that the car maintain a high resale value.

Executives of the Japanese companies say they are willing to learn and to spend heavily on product development and marketing — in short, to exhibit the same patience and persistence they displayed in cracking the lower and middle segments of the American automobile market.

"WE know it's going to take some time and some bucks," said William R. Bruce, the head of Nissan's new luxury division, Infiniti. "You're not going to come in with the reputation and image of a Mercedes."

By the same token, the companies think that American drivers have already shown themselves open to the idea of a Japanese luxury car. Acura expects to sell more than 55,000 of its Legends this year plus another 50,000 or more of its lower-priced Integra model, which is not considered a luxury car. By comparison, Cadillac will sell about 277,000 vehicles this year and Mercedes about 90,000 in the United States. Mr. Bruce thinks Nissan could eventually sell 200,000 Infiniti cars a year.

The Japanese have been steadily moving upscale for several years, and they are increasingly leaving the lower end of the market to Korea's Hyundai and other low-cost imports. Already, Toyota, Nissan and Honda are selling models under their traditional nameplates in the \$20,000 range. The decline in the value of the dollar against the yen and the continuing "voluntary" restraints that restrict Japanese auto exports to the United States have accelerated the push by Japanese manufacturers to operate in market segments that are less price-sensitive and support higher profit margins.

Executives at the three companies say they are simply following the needs of the loyal customers who have been buying their less-expensive cars for years — often baby boomers now starting to reach the peak of their earning power.

Many of those buyers have already moved up from their small first cars into more costly Japanese imports and now, in significant numbers, they are looking to take the next step into the \$20,000-and-up market. Just as General Motors holds up Cadillac as something for Chevrolet drivers to aspire to and Ford has its upscale Lincoln-Mercury division, the Japanese manufacturers want to be able to hold their customers in the family as they move up in the world.

"Our customers have grown up with us," said J. Davis Illingworth Jr., the head of Toyota's new Lexus division, which will market the company's luxury cars. "They're more successful and looking to buy more upscale transportation. We don't have it and we want to be able to offer it to them."

Toyota and Nissan so far have not publicly displayed the luxury vehicles they plan to sell. Each has said it plans to start with two cars. In the case of Nissan's Infiniti line, one will be a 4-door sedan, powered by an 8-cylinder engine, that dealers say could sell for as much as \$35,000. The other will be a sports coupe with a smaller V-6 engine that is expected to sell for around \$30,000. Toyota's Lexus line will include a 4-door, 8-cylinder sedan that will probably go for around \$30,000, and what the company calls a "near-luxury" sedan at around \$20,000.

Nissan and Toyota, both are largely adopting the sales and marketing strategy being used by Honda with Acura. Toyota, with its new Lexus nameplate, and Nissan, with Infiniti, are developing distinct brand identities for their luxury lines to separate them in

the consumer's mind from their traditional models, just as Honda did by calling its operation Acura. Even though their established names have high recognition, they also continue to carry the vestiges of their low-end heritage, an association that a would-be luxury car maker cannot afford.

Not wanting to cut itself off completely, however, from the positive image of quality and reliability that Honda feels its name has earned, the company clearly identifies Acura in its advertising as "a new division of American Honda." Nissan and Toyota are expected to use similar strategies. "We're not going to shy away from our heritage, but we're not going to make it our focal point, either," said Mr. Bruce of Nissan.

In another key way, however, the split will be more clear. The Japanese companies have each opted to establish new dealer franchises that will sell the cars in locations separate

Both sides gird for one of the most critical marketing battles since the first Toyota was imported in 1957.

from regular Toyota, Honda and Nissan dealerships.

There are already 192 Acura dealers across the country, most drawn from the ranks of Honda dealers. Toyota and Nissan have begun taking applications from their dealers to sell their new lines.

The strategy allows the companies not only to develop distinct identities, but also to sign on only the dealers they feel can best serve a more demanding and knowledgeable group of customers. Honda proudly points out that its Acura dealers ranked No. 1 earlier this year among all dealers in the customer satisfaction index developed by J. D. Power, the research firm. Nissan, in putting together its dealer network for Infiniti, is studying McDonald's, Nordstrom's department stores and other organizations renowned for the consistency of their customer service.

SETTING up an entirely new distribution network is an expensive and somewhat risky proposition for the dealers who sign on. Buying a lot and building the necessary facilities can cost \$5 million or more, depending on the location, and the dealer must put up that cost. Some dealers are reluctant to get involved for fear that the luxury lines will take business from the existing operations. They also worry that sales volume will not be sufficient to turn a profit.

Still, many Japanese-car dealers appear willing to make the investment in hopes that the new franchises will do as well as their existing ones, which have made a good number of them millionaires over the past decade. "It's a chance to get in on the ground floor," said Mr. Bruce. "It's like getting a Datsun franchise 25 years ago."

The companies also must cope with difficult production issues. Because of the restraints on the number of Japanese cars sent to this country, producing the luxury cars in Japan, as Honda does and Toyota and Nissan plan to do, means that fewer of their traditional cars can be built in Japan. The Japanese manufacturers are hopeful that the restraints will be lifted next year, but in the meantime they are investing in more production capacity at their plants in the United States. Last month, Honda announced that it would spend \$561 million to build a new plant in Marysville, Ohio, and expand other facilities.

For now the Japanese are concentrating on the lower end of the luxury market, leaving alone the market for cars such as Cadillac's \$55,000 Allante and the biggest BMW's and Mercedes's, which can run as much as \$73,000.

But some experts say it is only a matter of time before a Toyota or Nissan decides to play in that game as well, keeping the other luxury car makers on the run.

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

A New Baker Plan For World Aid

The World Bank and I.M.F. meetings ended on a note of hope after the Reagan Administration took what seemed to be a more active role in helping spur the world economy and solving the third-world debt problem. The spotlight was shared by President Reagan and Treasury Secretary James A. Baker 3d. Mr. Baker agreed to advocate such long-sought ideas as easing the often-stringent conditions imposed on debtors by the I.M.F. and supporting huge increases in funding for the World Bank. One surprise came when Mr. Baker said the United States might consider the price of gold in a basket of commodities that could be used to regulate economies around the world. The United States has been moving away from a gold-based economy for years.

President Reagan nudged Japan and West Germany to stimulate their economies, saying they should show "the pump" to face down the inflation monster for the benefit of the rest of the world economy. Both nations, two of the United States' biggest trading partners, have been slow to respond to requests to expand, saying they feared a resurgence of inflation if growth got out of hand. The President pointed to the United States, where expansion is continuing but inflation remains low, and indicated that if the United States can do it, so can other nations. There was no immediate response from Japan or West Germany.

Leading indicators gained six-tenths of 1 percent in August, a modest increase that had economists agreeing that the economy will continue to improve, but disagreeing over how vigorously. Much of the gain could be tied to the strong stock market. Some more basic components, such as consumer spending and orders for plants and equipment, fell. In the meantime, unemployment fell to 5.5 percent overall in September, from 5.9 percent. Spending on new construction rose 1.6 percent in August. Sales of new homes jumped an unexpected 2.7 percent in August, although interest rates are creeping up. Factory orders fell a steep 1.7 percent in August on weak military and aircraft demand, the first backsliding since January. And happy birthday to the economic expansion, which is now 58 months old.

Stocks had a good week. The Dow Jones industrial average gained back some of its recent losses, finishing at 2,640.99, up 70.52. Bond prices continued to slump and some yields hit two-year highs before settling down.

Japan will buy a fighter plane from the United States rather than build its own, a move that is seen as helping ease trade tensions between the two nations. The American company that builds the jet stands to gain billions.

A fifth of Bear Stearns is being sold to a unit of Jardine Matheson of Hong Kong. The \$390 million price will go to Bear Stearns shareholders, many of them Bear Stearns executives. A number of Wall Street firms have looked around for partners recently as a way of raising capital, and Bear



James A. Baker 3d

Stearns is not the first to go outside the country for that partner. Indeed, Kidder, Peabody is rumored to be talking about a partnership with Nomura Securities of Japan.

Salomon gained a partner, too — Warren Buffett, the Omaha billionaire who has extensive media holdings as well. But the sale of a 12 percent stake to Mr. Buffett could lead to a hostile takeover battle. After hearing about the deal, Ronald O. Perleman, the chairman of Revlon, offered to pay \$42 a share for most of the stake that Mr. Buffett was to purchase at \$38, and, when Salomon rejected the offer, said he intended to buy a big block of stock. If he is planning a raid, his investment house, First Boston, is said to have assured Salomon that it would have no part in raising financing.

Allegis agreed to sell Hertz for a surprisingly high \$1.3 billion to an investment group formed by Hertz executives and Ford. The chairman of Allegis, Frank A. Olson, will become chairman of Hertz, and Allegis shareholders will get the proceeds.

And Avis is being sold again — this time by Wesray to Avis employees, for \$1.75 billion. The car-rental company has been sold 11 times since it was founded in 1946.

The death of Henry Ford 2d at the age of 70 is not expected to affect the management of the big auto maker, but it will leave a void in the corporate culture. A man who believed the boss should be the boss, Mr. Ford nevertheless was not one to dismiss counsel lightly; indeed, when he seized control of the company in 1945, he listened carefully to those who knew more about running it than he did, until he had a firm grasp of its operations. Over the years, he kept Ford in step with the times, and had the satisfaction of seeing it pass General Motors in profitability. His personal life, too, was controversial: A hard-drinking man who enjoyed and frequented the company of women, his philosophy of life was also his philosophy of business: "Never complain, never explain."

A New Player in the High-End Lineup

Honda's Acura Legend compared to some of the top-selling luxury cars in the United States.

		Cars Sold in U.S.		Price Range
		1986	1987 (Through Aug.)	1987 Models (Base Prices)
ACURA	Acura Legend (Honda)	25,060	32,377	\$20,000-27,000
AUDI	Audi	59,798	32,143	16,000-34,000
BMW	BMW	96,759	58,915	23,000-55,000
CADILLAC	Cadillac (G.M.)	304,057	174,570	15,000-55,000
JAGUAR	Jaguar	24,464	14,148	37,000-49,000
LINCOLN	Lincoln (Ford)	177,504	107,921	23,000-27,000
MERCEDES-BENZ	Mercedes-Benz	99,314	60,003	28,000-73,000
SAAB	Saab	48,224	31,500	14,000-27,000

Source: Ward's Automotive Reports (sales) and companies (prices)

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 2, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
IBM	14,167,900	25 1/2	+ 3/8
S&P 500	13,223,100	31 1/2	+ 3/8
Pac Tel	12,991,900	32 1/2	+ 1/2
Nt Semi	12,256,300	21 1/2	+ 1/4
IBM	11,744,900	155 1/2	+ 2 1/2
AT&T	11,729,700	34 1/2	+ 1/4
IC Ind	10,557,000	40 1/2	+ 1/4
ARCO Ch	9,588,700	37 1/2	...
Gen El	8,322,200	62 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Exxon	8,070,100	49 1/2	+ 1 1/2
S Fe So P	8,024,900	63	+ 5
A Exp	7,922,100	37	+ 5
Splm	7,664,500	37	+ 5
U Carb	6,601,400	30 1/2	+ 2 1/2
Vanly	6,240,700	3 1/2	+ 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
1,274	699	2,188	192	190

VOLUME

Total Sales	Same Per. 1986
\$27,003,600	\$40,181,260

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

Index	High	Low	Last	Chng
Indust	225.0	220.8	225.7	+5.82
Transp	167.8	160.5	167.1	+6.91
Utilities	78.4	77.0	78.2	+1.23
Finance	157.1	153.6	157.1	+3.83
Composite	153.6	149.4	153.4	+4.29

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	273.1	261.3	271.8	+10.34
40 Utilities	119.3	116.6	118.8	+1.93
40 Financial	30.6	29.6	30.5	+0.76
500 Stocks	328.9	320.1	328.0	+7.91

Dow Jones

30 Indust	2662.3	2563.6	2640.9	+70.82
20 Transp	1072.7	1029.5	1064.1	+31.22
15 Utilities	202.0	194.8	200.7	+5.52
65 Comb	970.0	933.8	962.5	+26.60

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED OCTOBER 2, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
HomeSh	3,891,600	13 1/2	+2 1/2
TexAir	2,412,800	23 1/2	-2 1/2
EchBay	2,130,900	28 1/2	- 1/2
WangB	1,891,500	18 1/2	+1
WDGht	1,435,700	25 1/2	+1 1/2
Amdahl	1,296,900	48 1/2	+ 1/2
Hasbr	1,240,900	19 1/2	-2 1/2
NY Time	1,184,000	42 1/2	+1 1/2
Teleph	996,700	6 1/2	- 1/2
LoTel	867,800	16 1/2	+ 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
474	384	161	62	78

VOLUME

Total Sales	Same Per. 1986
\$8,294,580	\$6,047,410

The KGB cracks down

SEPTEMBER 14, 1987

Former Prisoner of Zion Alexander (Sasha) Kholmiansky, 37, in refusal for nine years and subject to constant surveillance, his wife Anna, 27, their infant daughter, Dora, and Sasha's parents, Rosa Chervyak and Grigory Kholmiansky, went to Smolensky Square today, opposite the Foreign Ministry, to demonstrate on behalf of their right to repatriate to Israel.

The Kholmianskys were also protesting against the fact that Anna's father objects to their departure and refuses to sign a mandatory document stating that he has no financial claims against them, which has been hampering their immigration. At the demonstration, they held aloft posters stating: "Mr. Shevardnadze, Will You Keep Your Word?" The militia gathered in force, as well as KGB agents disguised as construction workers who immediately tore down their posters as soon as they were unfurled. The Kholmianskys were warned that they could not be protected against the "fury of the people" and were told that their demonstration was illegal. Threats and rude comments ensued and one of the "construction workers" alluded to the fact that he was from the Pamyat society (an anti-Semitic organization). Finally, Grigory Kholmiansky, 78, was arrested, detained by the police, and then taken to an administrative hearing where he was fined 50 rubles on charges of "boogymism."

The demonstration lasted 40 minutes, and upon its conclusion, the family traced Grigory's whereabouts and returned home without further incident. Letters to the Kholmianskys can be sent to: Kholmiansky, Anna and Alexander, General Belova 33/19/Apt. 96; Moscow 115563; USSR.

Jewish activists were warned not to hold a rally protesting anti-Semitism on September 13 in Friendship Park in Moscow. As soon as they emerged from their homes, 18 refuseniks were arrested and detained by the authorities for up to seven hours, including Vladimir Slepkov, Yosef Begun, Lev Sud, Yakov Rakhlenko, Victor Fuhmakh, Ira Shapiro, Zeev Geizel, Mikhail Cheloev and Leonid Yusefovich.

Other refuseniks who travelled from places outside Moscow to participate in the demonstration against increasing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and to honour the memory of Jewish writers who were executed during the Stalinist purges near the monument entitled "Friendship Among Nations," found themselves surrounded by 1,000 military troops and plainclothesmen.

The activists were surprised by the strong opposition to their meeting, which was also discussed at local Communist Party gatherings in plants and other work-places and denounced in the press as a "Jewish provocation."

SEPTEMBER 16, 1987
Alexei Magarik, 28, a Prisoner of Zion, was released on September 14 from a Siberian labour camp in Omak after completing half of his three-year sentence on spurious drug charges. He was accompanied home by his wife, Natasha Rabiner Magarik, and his friend, former Prisoner of Zion, Lev Sud.

Verlovsky, and arrived home in Moscow where he was warmly welcomed home at the railway station by many friends and former students.

A cellist, poet, and Hebrew teacher, Magarik was delighted to be reunited with family and friends and especially with his son, Chaim, whom he last saw when he was only five months old, and expressed the hope that together with his wife, Natasha and his son, he would soon be granted exit visas to Israel to reunite with his father, Vladimir Magarik and his sister Hanna in Jerusalem.

In a phone call to Israel immediately after his arrival in Moscow, Magarik remarked that the most unbearable aspects of his imprisonment was the separation from his family, and the harsh conditions of the labour camp which was marked by rampant violence. Although camp officials attempted to crush his spirit, they refrained from physical abuse because his case was so widely publicized in the West.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1987
Vladimir Roysak, 41, a mathematician, was summoned before the Supreme Ovir in Kishinev and informed that security restrictions barring his emigration remain in force and that there is no recourse.

His wife, Rianina, 40, a French teacher, has written an open letter - a "cry for help" - which describes the tribulations the family has endured since it first applied for exit visas in 1976. She wrote: "On May 20, 1987, we marked the 10th anniversary of the Ovir commission decision to deny our family an exit visa on grounds of 'regime considerations.'"

"After graduating from university, my husband had a security clearance from September 1969 until September 1973, but the standard form which he filled out at the time of his resignation from work prevented the period during which he was prevented from leaving the country to five years. Yet, almost 14 years have

passed since that time... What kind of life are refuseniks residing in the provinces forced to lead? They are deprived of their right to control their destiny. "People like us are faced with constant repression at work (true, one can leave one's job, but this would mean loss of income and the risk of facing charges of parasitism), the impossibility of advancing in one's position, working in an uninteresting position accepted by necessity and not by choice, isolation, etc. "We have lived in Bendery for the past

Alexander Chudnovsky, 32, a refusenik since 1983 and a Hebrew teacher in Leningrad, has been granted an exit visa, but his wife, Sophia (Sara) has been denied one. Although Sophia, 26, worked as a draftsman designing circuits for telephone exchanges, she was never required to sign a security clearance, now the pretext for denying her an exit visa. She left her position in 1985 prior to the birth of her son in December, 1985. Another son, Avigdor was born in April of this year.

This report on the situation of a number of Soviet refuseniks was compiled by Enid Wurtman from details supplied by the Israel Council for Soviet Jewry, the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Centre, the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry, Israel Action, the '35s group and other sources. The dates indicate when the reports were received.



The Royak family of Bendery - "My Jewish soul is the only castle I have," says Rianina, second from left. (Council for Soviet Jewry)

14 years, but we have hardly been in contact with anyone because few people share the same opinions as we do... We have three daughters, Yana, 12, Lea, 7, and Ilanit, 2. Our main objective in life is to live in Israel, to bring up our children in the spirit of Jewishness and to instill in them a feeling of national self-awareness without subjecting them to the kind of double life which is unavoidable in our situation in the Soviet Union. After all, how can they say at school that their parents have been trying for the past 11 years to obtain a permit to leave the USSR or that Israel is their historic homeland and the Jewish people are their people...

"Paraphrasing a saying the English have, I can say my Jewish soul is the only castle I have. Yet, even this castle is threatened by the mighty state-machines... Why on earth should my children read in papers about Zionist atrocities and Israeli aggression but never be able to read a word about the just struggle of a small, proud and independent state. Our case is a typical one, there are tens of thousands of people like us... Our children have no future here. How can we save them?"

The Royak family can be contacted by writing to: Rianina and Vladimir Roysak, U.S. Department of State, Moscow SSR, Bendery; USSR.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1987
Ya'akov Rakhlenko, in his 15th year of refusal, protested to the Supreme Soviet Special Commission reviewing the cases of refuseniks still denied exit visas on September 11, noting the fact that his previous appeal, sent seven months ago, remained unanswered. He has now been informed that his case has been forwarded to the KGB.

Rakhlenko submitted his first application to go to Israel when he was a second-year student at the Moscow Institute of Communications in 1972. He was expelled from the institute shortly after being refused an exit visa without reason. Since then, he has done odd jobs such as shovelling coal and doing electrical and plumbing repairs in order to support himself and his family.

Ya'akov's sister Mira came to Israel in 1972. His mother, Viara Belkina, remained in Moscow until Ya'akov married in 1980. When there were Prisoners of Zion serving sentences in exile in Siberia, he travelled the long, arduous way to visit them in order to bring them supplies and moral support. When his mother was allowed to leave for Israel in 1980, Ya'akov was refused on the pretext of past military service which he completed in 1970. Ya'akov, 38, and his wife, Faina, 38, a nurse who studies Hebrew, have a daughter, Naomi, aged seven.

Address letters to: Rakhlenko family; USSR: Kamnitsky Pereulok 5, Apt.

mun term mentioned by the Soviet head of state.

Soifer asks, "What is this? Another attack against Gorbachev by the KGB and the Ministry of Interior? Another demonstration of the desire to show that in the USSR, the different roles are well distributed, with Gorbachev making promises on democratization, new thinking and glasnost for Western consumption, while men in military uniform still remain in charge inside the country and they still write their own laws..."

Dr. Soifer recommends that in view of the fact that Soviet representatives have persistently claimed that all the cases of preventing refuseniks from leaving the USSR have been used on their knowledge of "this or that secret" and that gradually, as soon as the "cooling off" periods end, all of them will be granted exit visas, it is necessary to demand that the Soviets should supply western diplomats - and via them, Soviet Jewry committees - with information regarding the periods for which each of the refuseniks is to be detained in the USSR.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1987

In a recent letter from Moscow from long-term refusenik Yevgeny Yakir, 56, he notes that Mr. Velikhov, the vice president of the Academy of Science of the USSR, has stated officially that industrial technology in the USSR is fully renewed in 10 years' time. Therefore, he writes, "we, all the long term refuseniks detained on the grounds of security, are hostages who are used in negotiations; the number of emigrants increased, reflecting the progress in the negotiations in Geneva and so forth."

In his 14th year of refusal, together with his wife Rianina, also a mechanical engineer, Yakir expressed special concern for his son, Alexander, 29, who served a two-year term in labour camps on punitive charges of draft evasion. "He is one of the 'second generation' refuseniks who has grown up in refusal and who are now attempting to leave the Soviet Union without their parents but with their consent," he writes. While young Jews (and, perhaps not so young) who applied only recently have been granted exit visas, in the case of the children of long-term refuseniks, applications either are not accepted at all or they are refused.

Yakir notes that there are some exceptions, and that some second-generation refuseniks are permitted to leave the Soviet Union.

"One can conclude," he writes, "that 'regime refusals' are a disease, a virus which infects relatives (even in-laws) or is genetically inherited by our children. The commission (if it really exists) reviewing regime cases has never answered us. The terms of refusal are not given to everyone... Do not rely so much on glasnost, it is not for us," Yakir concludes.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1987

Jewish activists approached the Leningrad City Council with a request to establish a Jewish music club. They were told to contact the local district office. They applied to Fedosova, the head of the district, and she told them that there were no suitable accommodations available in her district. The activists then went to a cultural institution in the area and received written permission and an explanation that local space was available for their purposes.

They then returned to the district office and were told that before official permission could be granted for a Jewish music club, they must verify their ideological credibility. To date, final approval has not been granted.

The Leningrad City Council has granted permission for the restoration of the milve. Jewish activists in Leningrad have requested local permission to hold a celebration of Rosh Hashana in a local restaurant. There has been no immediate response to their request.

Refuseniks in Moscow and Leningrad have expressed concern about a recent editorial which appeared in *Izvestia* on September 18 titled: "Who Among Us Doesn't Love Perestroika?" Two days later, a similar article appeared in *Sovetskaya Russia* and seven other newspapers, stating that Jewish activists are opposed to perestroika (reconstruction) and have been given orders to remain in the Soviet Union and create "murky waters" to disturb perestroika on the pretext of their national problems.

Cited in these articles as opponents of perestroika were former Prisoner of Zion Alexander Kholmiansky and long-term refusenik Mikhail Stolar.

In Moscow, Rudolph Kuznetsov, the head of All-Union Ovir has informed Vladimir Dabashvsky, 49, an astro-physicist in refusal 11 years, that there is a possibility that new regulations may be issued whereby Ovir would send written requests to relatives of potential emigrants to verify if they have any financial claims against them. If no response is forthcoming during a specified period, then it will be determined that there are no outstanding financial claims to hinder their emigration.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1987

Long-term refuseniks gathered in the home of Alexander Lerner tonight, including Maria and Vladimir Slepkov, Inna and Yuri Kosharovskiy, Natasha and Gennady Khassan, Rosa and Alexander Ioffe, Ya'akov Alpert and others to celebrate Rosh Hashana together with the Governor of New York, Mario Cuomo and his delegation.

SPORTS

Monday, October 5, 1987 The Jerusalem Post Page Five

TENNIS

Krishnan pulls India through

SYDNEY (Reuters). - Australia's hopes of retaining the Davis Cup were wrecked yesterday by an Indian who looked, and performed, like one of the great Australians of the past, Ken Rosewall.

Ramesh Krishnan, ignoring the pressure of having to win the final singles of the world group semi-final, disposed of Wally Masur 8-6, 6-4, 6-4 to take India into their third final. Earlier, John Fitzgerald had pulled Australia level at 2-2 after beating Vijay Amritraj in straight sets.

But Krishnan killed the hopes of a capacity crowd at White City with a superb display of percentage tennis, winning the points that mattered against an opponent who never looked happy in humid and blustery conditions.

India will now play either Sweden or Spain in the final.

Krishnan, 26, from Madras also won his first singles match against John Fitzgerald and has been no stranger to pressure since this year.

He reached the quarter-finals of the U.S.

Open and had to win the fifth rubber in the first round against Argentina.

But he agreed with his captain, Amritraj, that yesterday was the greatest win of his career. "It's very exciting to play well when it really counts," he said.

Like Rosewall, Ramesh Krishnan appears too small and chunky to play top level tennis. He also has the Australian's carefully-curved hair and "butter wouldn't melt in my mouth" look of a teacher's favourite.

Like the great Australian, who played in four winning final tennis, the Indian also has a long-gold grace. This, combined with a superb tactical brain, helps him compensate for a less than blistering first serve.

Amritraj, paper cup of champagne in hand, said he was always confident Krishnan would win the vital rubber.

"I never had much doubt about the last match. Ramesh was easily the best of the four singles players and all he had to do was to hang on to his nerves," said Amritraj.

The 33-year-old part-time Hollywood actor said reaching the final made up for his disappointment in 1974 when the Indian government withdrew the team from the final against South Africa in protest at South Africa's apartheid policies.

"We had a good chance of winning it then. But you have to look at the broader perspective and it was important that it (the withdrawal) was done," said Amritraj.

"I don't think any other team in the history of Davis Cup tennis got to a final with a team of

such low-ranked players," said Amritraj.

Amritraj then pointed to a possible Davis Cup first, saying he believed Krishnan was the first son to follow his father into a final. Ramesh Krishnan played in the 1966 final for India after also winning the vital fifth rubber in the semi-final against Brazil.

Asked how the team intended to celebrate, Amritraj said: "We're not big drinkers but we're going to put away a case of champagne tonight."

"And I can't wait to see Ramesh drunk," he added as a worried look crossed Krishnan's face for the first time in the afternoon.

Heavy rain interrupted the first of the reverse singles between Emilio Sanchez of Spain and Stefan Edberg of Sweden in the second Davis Cup semi-final in Barcelona yesterday. Sanchez was one game up in the opening set when play halted. Sweden lead the tie 2-1.

In zonal competition, Switzerland and New Zealand won their zone finals to advance to the world group next season competition. New Zealand beat China 4-1 in the Eastern Zone final in Shanghai.

Switzerland qualified for next year's world group by beating the Soviet Union 3-2 in the European Zone A final in Donetsk on Sunday. Jakob Hlasek beat Alexander Zverev 6-4, 6-3, 6-2 in the final rubber to clinch victory for the visitors.

Gilad wins

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. - Israel's Gilad Bloom yesterday won his first singles title on the pro-tennis circuit, when he beat American Mark Dickson 7-6, 6-3 in the final of the \$50,000 ATP Challenger series tournament in Estoril, Portugal.

He also finished as runner-up in the doubles event.

Bloom earned a total of \$11,000 in prize-money for his first big jackpot to date. Bloom earned a total of 31 computer points which should raise his ranking from 153 to around 120 in the world.

Lundgren upsets Lendl

Post Sports Staff

and agencies

Peter Lundgren of Sweden, who will be one of the top seeds at the Rikis Classic at Ramat Hasharon next week caused a major surprise at the Transamerica Open when he fought off two match points to upset top-seeded Ivan Lendl 6-3, 4-6, 7-6 in the semi-finals of the \$293,400 Grand Prix tournament in San Francisco yesterday.

Lundgren, who was unseeded and is ranked 49th in the world, faces another unseeded player, Jim Fugh

of the U.S. in the final.

The upset, which took 3 hours and 12 minutes, ended a 25-match win streak of Lendl's that began after his loss to Pat Cash in the Wimbledon final this year.

After the match, Lendl criticized himself and called Lundgren's victory style "crazy."

It was Lendl's sixth loss of the year.

In earlier action Saturday, Pugh ousted Todd Nelson's run of upsets with a 6-3, 6-7 (7-1), 6-4 victory in the other semifinal match.

Nelson, of the U.S., was a "lucky loser" who got into the draw when another player dropped out with a bad back.

In Palermo, Sicily, top seed Martin Jaffe of Argentina won the \$117,000 Grand Prix tournament yesterday, beating Karel Novacek of Czechoslovakia 7-6, 6-7, 6-4 in the final.

GOLF

England take Dunhill Cup

ST. ANDREWS, Scotland (AFP).

England won the Dunhill Cup when they took a winning 2-0 lead over Scotland here yesterday. Current British Open champion Nick Faldo beat former Open champion Sandy Lyle by three shots, going round in six-under-par 66 to Lyle's 69, and Gordon J. Brand beat Sam Torrance by five strokes, 64 to 69.

Howard Clark was facing defeat in the third match against Gordon Brand junior.

Earlier, the U.S. beat Australia to finish third. England had never previously got beyond the second round.

The win was worth \$300,000 to the winners, with the Scottish side shared \$150,000 for second place.

SQUASH

Jahangir falls again

KARACHI (Reuters).

Jansher Khan showed for the second time in nine days that the once invincible Jahangir Khan is indeed mortal when he beat the world number one to take the Pakistan Open Squash title yesterday.

Jansher, 18, survived a match point in the third set of the final and completed a stunning recovery with a 1-9, 1-9, 10-8, 9-5, 9-0 victory over his fellow-Pakistani.

Jahangir, who was unbeaten from April 1981 until November 1986, has subsequently suffered four defeats. He lost to Jansher in the Hong Kong Open in straight games last weekend.

Tremolino wins Arc

PARIS (Reuters). - English Champion on Jockey Pat Eddery, riding Tremolino, won the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe for the third successive year yesterday, as hot favourite Reference Point trailed in eighth of the 11 runners.

In one of the biggest surprises since the war, Tremolino easily held off by two lengths Italian challenger Tony Bin, the mount of Cash Asmussen, to win in a record time.

Chief French hope Triptych, ridden by Tony Cruz, made late headway to finish three lengths away in third, the same position she filled last year when Eddery won on Dancing Brave.

The large British contingent could hardly believe their eyes. As usual Reference Point, winner of the English Derby, the King George VI and Queen Elizabeth Diamond Stakes and the St. Leger, set out to make all the running. All looked well turning into the straight where Reference Point and American jockey Steve Cauthen still held the lead from the Aga Khan's duo of Shamayil and French Derby winner Nurettan.

Then, suddenly, 300 meters from home, Reference Point folded. A host of horses, including Tremolino, swarmed him up as if he were a thing of no consequence.

BASEBALL

Tigers savage Blue Jays

NEW YORK. - The Detroit Tigers edged the Toronto Blue Jays 4-3 in 12 innings to take a one-game lead over Toronto in the American League's Eastern Division with one game left in the regular season.

The Tigers scored the winning run in the bottom of the 12th inning, when Tiger shortstop Alan Trammell grounded a single through the legs of shortstop Manny Lee.

If Toronto win the remaining game, they force a playoff.

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

AMERICAN LEAGUE - Milwaukee Brewers 8, Boston Red Sox 4; (12) Detroit Tigers 3, Toronto Blue Jays 2; California Angels 12, Cleveland Indians 5; New York Yankees 6, Baltimore Orioles 2; Kansas City Royals 4, Minnesota Twins 2; Seattle Mariners 6, Texas Rangers 4.

NATIONAL LEAGUE - Montreal Expos 5, Chicago Cubs 4; Houston Astros 6, Cincinnati Reds 4; New York Mets 7, St. Louis Cardinals 1; San Francisco Giants 6, Atlanta Braves 3; Pittsburgh Pirates 16, Philadelphia Phillies 5; San Diego Padres 1, Los Angeles Dodgers 0.



LOADED HERO. - Detroit Tiger's Alan Trammell (C) is congratulated by his team-mates after hitting a bases-loaded single to give the Tigers a 3-2 victory over the Toronto Blue Jays on Saturday. (Reuters)

ITALIAN SOCCER Elkjaer leads Verona

ROME (Reuters).

Danish International Preben Elkjaer delivered a double blow to Juventus' Italian championship hopes yesterday when he scored both Verona's goals in a 2-1 home win over the Turin team of Welsh super-striker Ian Rush.

Rush, who marked his home Italian league debut with a brace of goals last Sunday, failed to make his mark on a game dominated by Elkjaer, who scored first from a penalty after

30 minutes and then with a dynamic shot in the 51st.

Juventus scored in a goalmouth scramble through Sergio Brio in the 69th minute but were clearly outplayed.

First division results: Avellino 0, Napoli 1; Como 0, Sampdoria 1; Empoli 0, Fiorentina 0; Milan 2, Ascoli 0; Pescara 1, Cosmos 0; Roma 1, Pisa 0; Torino 1, Internazionale 1; Verona 2, Juventus 1.

WINNING SPORTS TO LINE: 2.2, X, 1.1, 1.1, X, 1.1, X, X, X, 1.1, X.

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By Dov Shinar

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U.S., Canada lower trade barriers

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — The U.S. and Canada have reached a sweeping free trade pact designed to lower barriers to shipments between the two giant trading partners, the two sides announced on Saturday.

The agreement was the culmination of 16 months of bargaining. Canadian Trade Minister Pat Carney told reporters: "It is a historic agreement, it is balanced and it benefits all Canadians in all regions."

U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker, calling the pact "a comprehensive free trade agreement," said some details of the accord remained unsettled, but would be wrapped up in a final meeting later on Sunday.

He and Carney made the comments late on Saturday at the end of more than 13 hours of talks, which also included Canadian Finance Minister Michael Wilson and U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter.

Negotiations for a free trade zone between the two nations, proposed in 1985 by president Ronald Reagan and prime minister Brian Mulroney, nearly collapsed last week when Canadian negotiator Simon Reisman walked out.

He charged that the U.S. had failed to move on a key Canadian demand that a binding system to resolve trade disputes be set up to

Canada joined Israel two days ago as it became the second country in the world to sign a free trade agreement with the U.S. Israel has enjoyed the advantages of the Free Trade Area Accord with the Americans since 1985.

shield Canada from what it saw as capricious enforcement of U.S. trade law.

But on Thursday, Baker telephoned a new proposal to Mulroney, which broke the logjam and both sides resumed talks on Friday.

Carney said the pact covered all major outstanding trade issues, including the establishment of a binding dispute settlement system.

She did not elaborate, but said details of the entire agreement would be released after the cabinet in Ottawa and the premiers of Canada's 10 provinces were briefed on its contents.

Both sides said the agreement had realized the goals of the proposal by Reagan and Mulroney to try to remove trade bars.

Canada and the U.S. have the world's largest trading relationship, with about 150 billion dollars in cross-border shipments annually.

The negotiators were working against a timetable set by the U.S. Congress, which called for an agreement by midnight on Sunday to give it 90 days to consider and approve any trade pact before it adjourns in early January.

Officials said the pact was sweeping and covered all outstanding issues, including meeting U.S. demands for lower Canadian tariffs and export subsidies, increased U.S. investments in Canada and a revised auto pact.

Reisman told reporters there was a very good agreement on the auto industry.

He said it would increase auto employment and production in Canada by modernizing the 20-year-old pact, which calls for the free shipment of cars and parts between the two nations.

It was not immediately clear how Congress would react, but key lawmakers had been kept abreast of the negotiations to ensure that any agreement would meet their approval.

Canada had sought a pact to ensure the giant U.S. market stayed open to its goods despite rising U.S. protectionist sentiment. The U.S. wanted to reduce Canadian tariffs and to end export subsidies for lumber, minerals and farm goods.



Zim yesterday inaugurates its new roll-off car transporter, Zim Ashdod, by delivering the first of the Romanian Deltas to arrive in the country. The Ashdod, with a 600-car capacity, was specially leased by Zim to transport Deltas, but will also pick French cars at Marseilles. (Israel Sun)

The Deltas have arrived

JONATHAN KARP
For The Jerusalem Post
TEL AVIV. — The Deltas have arrived, but there's no need to rush to the showroom — they have already been sold.

The first shipment of 303 of the Romanian-built cars docked yesterday in Ashdod, and today the models will finish rolling off the Zim Ashdod and into a bonded warehouse, according to Dror Aharonov, marketing manager for Kaiser Ilin Ltd., the Delta importer.

Aharonov said that the customers who will receive the first models ordered the cars more than a year ago, even before the Transport Ministry granted Kaiser Ilin final permission to import Deltas.

Kaiser Ilin had promised mid-to late-September delivery. "The shipment was delayed because it took more time for us to inspect the product in the Romanian plant," Aharonov explained. "We also have to work out a problem of delays in shipping the cars from the plant to the port in Romania."

Aharonov would not disclose how many 1988 Deltas had been ordered, but he said that the models would continue to arrive in bi-weekly shipments until the end of the year.

Sudan: Struggling under a \$11b. debt

CAIRO (Reuters). — Sudan's devaluation of its pound has met a key demand of its creditors but left unanswered what it will do about a colossal foreign debt.

Finance Minister Beshir Omar announced the 44 per cent devaluation against the dollar in Khartoum on Saturday. But Africa's biggest country, with an agriculture-based economy, still owes 11 billion dollars abroad.

Prime Minister Saaded al-Mahdi's government also boosted the prices of sugar, petrol and cement but it was still not clear how Sudan's future ties with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) will look.

The devaluation followed pressure on Sudan by the IMF and creditors to re-adjust the value of its pound against the U.S. currency as part of a package of economic reforms.

The pound now stands at 4.5 to the dollar compared with 2.5 previously. The new rate covers all state dealings and money sent home by an estimated one million Sudanese working abroad, mainly in Gulf

Arab States.

Omar said the devaluation and the rise in commodity prices followed talks with the IMF last month in Washington on ways to bolster Sudan's beleaguered economy.

Sudan's foreign debt costs an estimated one billion dollars a year to service and the IMF declared it ineligible for fresh loans in February last year. It also owes the fund about 600 million dollars in arrears.

Omar told a news conference the IMF had agreed in the Washington talks to accept repayment of the arrears on soft terms. It also dropped demands that Sudan's loss-making state enterprises should be privatized and state subsidies removed.

Mahdi and Omar said in August that Sudan and the IMF had agreed on a reform package in principle. But Western experts in Khartoum said at the time the agreement amounted only to an informal understanding.

They said IMF's own charter banned it from making any accord with recipients in arrears, although the fund was said to be desperate to

clinch a deal with Sudan and get its money back.

Sudan's arrears, the experts said, are more than half the total outstanding debts.

The Sudanese economy has been hard hit in recent years by a devastating 1984-85 drought, a civil war in its black African south and slumping foreign currency earnings.

Omar said in a budget speech in June that Sudan was 2.6 billion dollars behind in debt servicing. It could set aside only 100 million dollars to service them in the fiscal year which began on July 1, he said.

Only a formal agreement with the IMF could allow Sudan to reschedule part of its foreign debt and thus ease the way for fresh loans badly needed to finance a proposed four-year economic recovery plan.

Experts had said only a devaluation that brought the pound's official exchange rate close to that on the flourishing black market could attract more remittances through legal banking channels.

Saturday's devaluation did not appear to achieve that.

Hungary gets burnt in flirt with capitalism

By SUE MASTERMAN

BUDAPEST. — For the past decade Hungary, with tacit Kremlin approval, has been trying to pick the currents out of the capitalist bun, and co-opt into its economic policy the elements of capitalism which fit communist philosophy.

Schemes such as the manufacture of jeans in Hungary under western licence, with 80 per cent of the production for currency-earning export and 20 per cent for the home market — thus knocking the bottom out of the jeans black market — were acclaimed as a spectacular success for "goulash communism."

Now, however, the Hungarians have discovered that there was malicious little bug lurking in the transfiguration of Western capital, licences and know-how which gave their economy its shot in the arm. That bug is called inflation, and it brings in its wake unemployment and foreign debt.

The Hungarians have tried to graft the best bits of capitalism onto a somewhat moribund communist economy, and have failed. The rest of the communist bloc hope to learn from Hungary's mistake.

In the communist system in general, the working force has little or no incentive to work harder, since it is almost impossible to get sacked and unemployment is forbidden by the constitution. He, or she, has no incentive to study or to train, since qualified people earn little more than the unqualified, and the best jobs go to those with the right party loyalties rather than the right qualifications.

The communist centralized system, with its laborious and turgid

five-year plans, is the antithesis of a capitalist system which requires high technology, snappy decisions, response to changing market conditions, and a mobile labour reserve.

The Hungarians went a long way to meet capitalist conditions. They have introduced wage differentials, mobilized labour, turned a blind eye to unemployment and permitted small private enterprises, and have put their forerunners on the international capital market.

There are a whole lot of very smart people in Hungary in close contact with emigrants who have gone to the top in business abroad, and who have a soft spot for investment in their old home country. The Hungarians thus liberalized their system to give private enterprise a chance, and they began to develop their own computer industry.

This, in turn, is due to the productivity, over-employment in industry, wastage of raw materials and energy, and the failure of the planning system to adjust to market demand.

The other disparity was in income. Pensioners in Hungary have the highest suicide rate in the world. Around 80 per cent of them live under the poverty line. At least two

wage earners in the family are necessary for a reasonable standard of living, as the government now ruthlessly prunes subsidies and introduces income and value added taxes.

There is still too much money in Hungary chasing too few goods, and the government intends to take the heat out of the economy by creaming off the surplus cash, and putting it into the social services.

This is not as easy as it sounds. However organized the system may seem, there is in Hungary, as in every communist country, a shadow economy over which the government has no control.

Everyone who can go moonlighting, and in the countryside exchange and barter are still the main means of private trade. Where the system fails, the people have learned to help themselves, so that a computer program brought in from the West may well be paid with a pig from granny's smallholding.

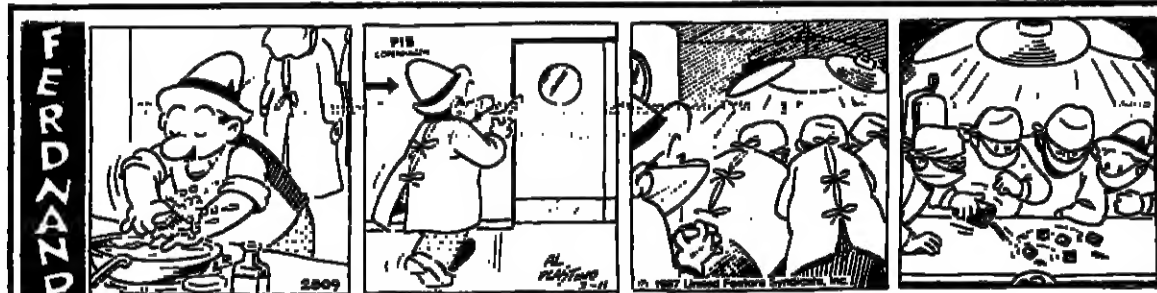
Hungarian economists saw their spiral turn downwards two years ago, and they screamed warnings at the government. The government took note, but the inertia inherent to the communist system prevented the swift response that was needed.

The first measures have now been taken, and the Hungarians have been told frankly that their belts will be several notches tighter before the process has finished. The country has been living above its means, and the bill is about to be presented. Janos Kadar and his team are expected to back down and leave the field to the Hungarian yuppie equivalent before the year is out.

The Soviet Union, without whose support neither Hungary nor any other Warsaw Pact country can move an ideological finger, has sanctioned what Hungary is doing, and is carefully observing it.

Hungary will emerge from this crisis older, wiser and economically thinner, but it will survive. To see what happens when a government fails to react to economic danger signals, it is only necessary to look over the border to Yugoslavia, where a real economic disaster is in the making. That is the bogeyman with which the Hungarian public is threatened if it rebels against the new austerity measures, and it makes them toe the line.

(London Observer Service.)



CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Recompense the work force will be out to get (6-3)
- 8 Takes a series of special lectures, perhaps or plays a round of golf (4,2,1,6)
- 11 Olivia's favourite comic (5)
- 12 Turn out a bad scholar (5)
- 13 Five Irish lines that ought to scan (5)
- 16 Richly adorned or unusually neat (6)
- 17 Easier to reach but hard to touch? (6)
- 18 A high flier well below par when on course (6)
- 19 An admirer of whatever television has to offer (6)
- 20 Health official going around Ireland? A fine yarn that is! (6)

DOWN

- 21 A bit of basalt yanked out of the briny (5)
- 24 Carry out a grave commitment (5)
- 26 Dissident sect holding a socially divisive policy (5)
- 27 Normally he takes part in the show (8,5)
- 28 I'm given a beating and prevented from going astray (9)
- 2 Try, but not much (5)
- 3 I get in trouble, but make light of it (6)
- 4 Acts as best man? (6)
- 5 Corrupt practice the sailor put to some purpose (5)

Part of a town where there is no work available (7,6)

Work for leave (3,10)

A vain fool regarded as useless (2,2,5)

A pipe of red wine no one turns in (9)

13 8 that differs from 13 across? (5)

14 Revolutionary layer of majestic character (5)

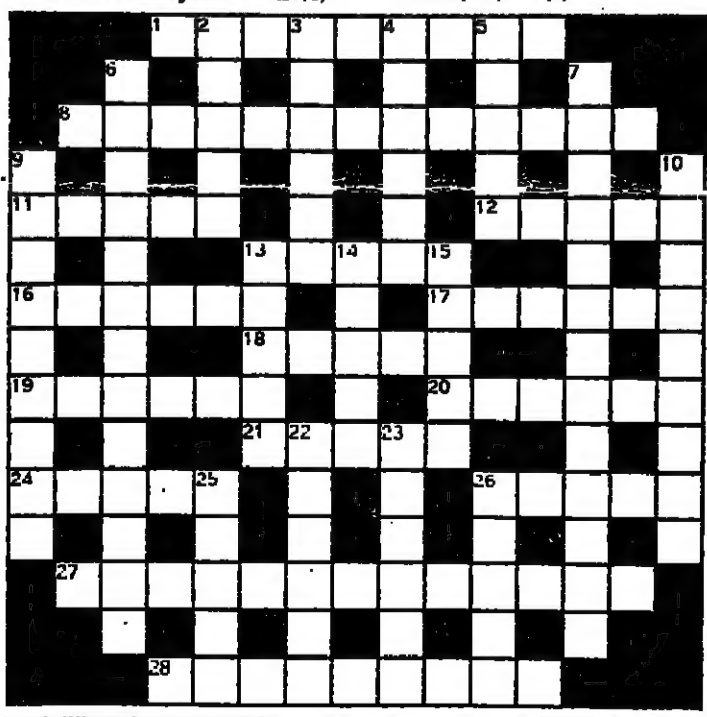
15 Who opposes Yemen rebels? (5)

23 Slowly executed movement of US soldier in trouble (6)

23 Mediterranean sailing vessel checked in Scotland (6)

25 14 state (5)

26 A series that has to be pushed forward (5)



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ACROSS

- 5 Hidden store (6)
- 8 Narratives (8)
- 9 Lean (5)
- 10 Flood (8)
- 11 American elk (5)
- 14 Increase (3)
- 16 Emphasise (6)
- 17 Flower (6)
- 18 Container (3)
- 20 Join (5)
- 24 Loin (8)
- 26 Ointment (5)
- 28 Lengthen (8)
- 27 Crown-up (5)

DOWN

- 1 Sudden alarm (5)
- 2 Reconnoitre (5)
- 3 Rubicund (5)
- 4 Ascertained (6)
- 6 Near (8)
- 7 Privation (8)
- 12 Plag (5)
- 13 Joyful celebration (8)
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Centre and periphery

THE GREATEST insights are sometimes the simplest. Such was Dr. Theodor Herzl's discovery that the Jews are a People, a single community of fate united even in dispersion. Elementary, it would now seem; but it was from that elementary Zionist beginning that there eventually arose the State of Israel.

True, the very process of emergence of a centre of Jewish sovereignty in this land split it off from the Diaspora periphery. Even before Israel came into being the votes of Eretz Yisrael delegates to Zionist congresses weighed more heavily than those of their colleagues still living abroad. Those who bodily carried the burden of the Jewish national revival were clearly entitled to a proportionately larger share in Zionist decision-making.

The establishment of the state led to the formal separation of the Jewish centre from the Jewish periphery, with the right of deciding Israel's major policies reserved to Israel's sovereign institutions.

Yet Israel's vocation as the state of the entire Jewish People has been restated time and time again, most recently through legal enactments. Most insistent on making that restatement have been the country's right-wing nationalists, zealous as ever to remind the non-Jews in the land where it is that they dwell. The precise political, as opposed to the theological, meaning of Israel's Jewishness has not been spelled out in any great detail. But it seemed clear enough that the opinions of Diaspora Jews who do not exercise their rights under the Law of Return, but are committed to the goals of Zionism and the state's welfare, have a special claim on Israel's attention.

In deference to Israel's centrality and its self-imposed role as, in effect, the engine of Jewish history, Diaspora Jews have refrained from too heavily pressing their right to even a consultative status on Israel's affairs of state. Grumble as they sometimes might, or even fume, over what struck many of them as ill-considered Israeli policies, they would nevertheless as a rule make certain that no outsiders were listening before they aired their criticisms. And when their advice was spurned, as it very often was, particularly in recent years, they would make no great fuss about it.

That has been especially true of U.S. Jews, whose unique position within the American polity has made them into Israel's single most powerful champion abroad. So long as this country had governments that boasted coherent policies, American Jewry would do its organized best to "sell" them to the administration in Washington, no matter what reservations it might itself have about these policies.

Two weeks ago the American Jewish Congress broke the old taboo by openly taking sides with the Alignment and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and against the Likud and Premier Yitzhak Shamir, on the issue of the international peace conference and annexationism. Pointing out that Israel's government was itself divided and deadlocked over how to approach the peace process, the AJC argued that it was imperative for U.S. Jews to take an active part in the historic debate on which the future of Israel and world Jewry depends.

This drew immediate fire from Mr. Shamir, who protested that he described as the AJC's unprecedented attempt to interfere in matters that are solely within Israel's discretion.

Last week it was Mr. Peres's outspoken approval of the AJC's action, in answers to questions posed to him at a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, that prompted Mr. Shamir to openly urge the conference, through its chairman, to turn a deaf ear to the vice premier's advice. The involvement of Diaspora Jews "in all aspects of our life," Mr. Shamir nobly conceded, was welcome, but "matters of existence and security" had to be left to "those who are called (upon) to shed their blood for the country."

It was a fraudulently demeaning argument. What the premier was in fact telling American Jewry was that it had no right to even participate in a debate - a debate, and not any decision-making process - on an issue of the greatest pith and moment that has split the government of so-called national unity right down the middle, at least if it preferred Mr. Peres's "defeatist" policy to his own. For theirs is not to reason why, Mr. Shamir was telling U.S. Jews, theirs is but to do - as told by his half of the government, those stout defenders of Israel's security and sovereignty.

That, to Mr. Shamir and his colleagues is the true meaning of the unity of the Jewish People with Israel at its centre. The proposition is, however, highly debatable, and the debate was not ended by Mr. Shamir's virtual silence after Mr. Peres's presentation of his case in yesterday's cabinet meeting.

THE MORNING AFTER

The release of Ida Nudel is cause for celebration. It is also, however, pause for reflection. Why the change in Soviet policy? Why the steady number of prominent Jewish activists being released? Why the sudden increase in the overall number of Jews being allowed to leave the Soviet Union?

Is the release of Ida Nudel a Soviet gesture within the context of an international peace conference and indicative of a changed Russia, as Foreign Minister Peres and his advisers believe. Or should we believe Prime Minister Shamir who feels that no matter what the Soviets do, their motives must be sinister; that their only interest is self-interest and that, in the ultimate analysis, Gorbachev is Khrushchev in Brezhnev's clothing.

While nothing but joy can greet Ida Nudel when, God willing, she arrives here in two weeks time, our joy should be laced with a great deal of scepticism both about Soviet intentions and the behaviour of our own leaders.

If this is indeed a new Soviet Union, for example, why are the gates not flung open? Why the continuing retribution, job discrimination and harassment against those waiting for exit visas? Why the continuing attacks against Israel in international forums?

But why, on the other hand, should our government greet Ida Nudel's release with the same endemic polarization that has reduced every aspect of government to party parochiality? The cabinet's schizophrenic reaction to the news has totally overshadowed the real meaning of it, and has clouded what should have been a cause for unmitigated joy.

Has the chasm between our leaders grown so deep that even Ida Nudel's release could not bring them to celebrate with the rest of the country? And more importantly, to pause and reflect together on what the Soviets are really up to, lest Israel be drawn into a trap, or blinded to new opportunities.

HIRSH GOODMAN

The menace of 'Jewish' Fascism

Melville Mark

A TREMOR of incredulity went through the Anglo-Jewish community following Jewish Tory Alfred Sherman's insensitive invitation to Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front, to attend a fringe meeting of the Conservative Party.

Adding a new interpretation to the work *Ausgrenzung*, the unrepentant Sir Alfred justified his welcome in the name of "Judeo-Christian democratic values" which, we are led to believe Le Pen is defending against a mighty host of enemies, to wit, the "Arabs" of France.

Sir Alfred cocks a snook at the susceptibilities of an Anglo-Jewish community which, for the most part, is not much more than one generation removed from immigrants and foreigners tarred with "flooding" into this country and corrupting Christian democratic values, slightly to amend Sir Alfred's chosen phrase.

Sir Alfred says of himself that he would not associate with a fascist, racist or anti-Semite, and perhaps he should be taken at his word. His prevarications, however, bring to mind the story of the Polish aristocrat, notorious for his anti-Semitism, who when it was pointed out that one of his guests was a Jew, snapped: "I decide who is a Jew and who isn't!"

One thing Le Pen does make clear, and against which Sir Alfred does not protest, is that he seeks to inflict a "foreigners out" penalty on Arabs in France, many of whom were born and bred in that country.

In Britain, there is no apparent shortage of similar voices on the extreme right raised in chorus to "send packing" Afro-Asian immigrants, alternatively described as a "threat" or a "swamp."

In Israel there is a growing line-up by the extreme right behind Meir Kahane's "Arabs out" campaign, short of any pretence at being democratic. These values, argues the ra-

bid rabbi, are decidedly "Judeo" and any resemblance to democracy is contemptuously tossed aside as a Greek word alien to Jewish history.

Then there is South Africa, where all you have to be is white to advance the cause of Judeo-Christian democratic values in a "homeland" policy that has earned the contempt of the civilized world.

The language the extreme right use for a policy of indiscriminate expulsion of men, women and children, regardless of civil and human rights, is a euphemistic one. "Transfer" is the word employed.

Even if one were not prone to conspiratorial suspicions, there seems to be an extraordinary similarity in the posture and pattern of this right-wing "militant tendency" to "purify" the nations.

Sir Alfred is, after all, founder of a right-wing think tank. Would it be stretching credulity too far to suppose that his invitation to Le Pen was a further attempt to extend an international air of intellectual respectability and to provide a climate of legitimacy to views, which most ordinary and decent people find easy to identify as racial hatred?

The Anglo-Jewish response to Sir Alfred's apparent haste to provide France's *bête noire* with a media-hype platform can, at best, be described as a wrist-slap.

Anyone familiar with today's Anglo-Jewish community cannot fail to remark on its affluence. The East End is no more. An immigrant generation is petering out. Anglo-Jewry is upwardly mobile, professional, entrepreneurial and middle class.

There are, of course, pockets of Jewish poverty. What is absent is a Jewish proletariat.

All to the good. Progress, after all, is the redistribution of wealth, not of poverty.

THE RECENT decision of the Ministry of Health to introduce an examination for all doctors who have not qualified in this country before they can become licensed to practise here, has not unexpectedly aroused controversy. In the end, however, it must be seen as a welcome, if somewhat overdue, measure.

The often-sensitive issues and problems raised by the immigration and absorption of medical personnel from many different countries and backgrounds have, understandably, militated against the adoption of such a step in the past. Until now, anyone with a basic qualification from just any medical school anywhere in the world has been legally allowed to call himself "doctor" in this country, and could obtain a licence to practise, almost without restriction, on becoming a citizen, or even a temporary resident.

Nevertheless, even in such a liberal set-up there are some restrictions aimed at maintaining standards within the profession, and at protecting the public from incompetent

or poorly qualified practitioners.

For example, for the purpose of obtaining tenure and a senior post at an Israeli hospital, overseas specialists must have certain qualifications, whatever their quality or provenance, are, in general, not recognized here.

Doctors aspiring to such responsible positions in a hospital are therefore often required to demonstrate and prove their professional ability by additional periods of supervised work and study, and then passing the searching Israel specialization examinations administered by the Scientific Council of the Israel Medical Association on behalf of the Ministry of Health.

READERS' LETTERS

ORIENTAL SINNING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I read Abdel Karim Salim al-Sharif's letter of September 16 with great interest.

While I am certain we have no common ground politically, I share this writer's distaste for the blind copying of western life in our country, which I believe is part of the Middle East and definitely not a satellite of the West.

However, my love for oriental values cannot blind me to the fact that we are all human and by this token not perfect. If you consult a good dictionary (i.e. the one put out by Random House), you will see that the word assassin comes from the Arabic *hashshashin* (eaters of hashish). Thus, drug trafficking and assassinations are not a western invention.

The word *thug* comes from the Hindi word *thug*, meaning rogues and ruffians. These were professional robbers and murderers in India. As India is part of the Orient, we must surely accept that man has been sinning all over since the start of time.

ANNE KAYE

Hod Hasharon.

BRAVO, GILLON!

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Never have I been in such complete agreement with a TV review as I was with Philip Gillon's comments of September 18 about the programme on the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. "A hatchet job on the Philharmonic."

Such determined and concentrated ill-will as that shown on the TV programme is hard to explain.

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Dry Bones



THE DAYS WHEN British Jews would take to the streets to fight fascism appears to be over. Is this because British racism, ostensibly, is anti-black? Is their apathetically flaccid reaction to Sir Alfred's bigotry due to the fact that his "friend," Le Pen, castigates Arabs?

Right-wing Zionists believe there is no future in the Diaspora; that anti-Semitism is forever, and wherever large numbers of Jews take root, their non-Jewish neighbours will gang up on them and boot them out.

Some would like to give what they consider to be an inevitable historical process an unhealthy push. Indeed, not a few Israeli politicians consider anti-Semitism somewhat of an incentive in fostering Jewish immigration to Israel.

They are, of course, out of touch. They look back to the past and misread the mood of a Diaspora 40 years into a century witnessing the birth of a Jewish state which, by its

very existence, has made anti-Semitism significantly less threatening.

What the extreme right in Britain is seeking to achieve is legitimacy for policies which can only be described as racist as we know it.

What the extreme right in Israel is seeking to achieve -- with no little help from an international left incapable of grappling with an historical role for the Jewish people in a state of their own -- is creeping Kahanism.

What is common to both is their cynical use of "Judeo-Christian democratic values" to propagate views that blaspheme those values in the first place.

The smugness of self-righteous indignation may not, however, be enough to curb the menace of what some describe as "Jewish fascism." British Jews, like Israelis, may have to take to the streets.

The writer is a journalist based in London.